

**THE IONIAN
ISLANDS
DURING THE
PRESENT
CENTURY**

Henry Jervis White Jervis



CGE

Elizabeth Foundation.



LIBRARY

OF THE

College of New Jersey.

XIV 882-17





THE
IONIAN ISLANDS.

THE
IONIAN ISLANDS

DURING
THE PRESENT CENTURY.

BY
James W. Whyte-Jervis
CAPTAIN "WHYTE-JERVIS, M.P.

LONDON:
CHAPMAN & HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.
1863.

LONDON :
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

PREFACE.

I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages, some of which appeared in 1851,* to give an impartial account of the various political phases through which the Ionian Islands have passed since they ceased to form a portion of the Venetian possessions.

Having, for so many centuries, been ruled despotically, it was natural that time alone should teach the Ionians that self-government had its duties. No one was therefore astonished at hearing that the Septinsular Republic was constantly a scene of anarchy. But Europe is naturally surprised to find that the Ionians, after forty years of British protection, after having had every political boon granted to them which the most democratic government could desire, are not only still dissatisfied, but almost

* History of Corfu and the Ionian Islands.

in a state of revolution. Those unacquainted with the Ionian character naturally ask, Is it their fault, or that of Great Britain? How is it that the attempt on our part to graft on a portion of the Greek race the constitutional doctrines which have rendered this country so free and prosperous, has so signally failed? Unfortunately, a similar effort on the mainland of Greece has likewise been pre-eminently unsuccessful. The fact is the Ionians, as well as the Greeks, suffer under a great curse,—an indescribable objection to anything practical. Young men go to Athens, to Padua, or to some French or German College, where they obtain diplomas as Doctors of Laws, or of Arts, or of Medicine, at but little cost and still less labour. But engineering, in its various branches, agriculture, chemistry, the higher ranges of the medical or legal profession which can only be attained by perseverance and hard study, are subjects which they will neither investigate nor adapt themselves to. The consequence is a mass of half-educated men unable, and often unwilling, to pursue any useful profession, idling about the piazzas of the capital, and discussing political principles which they do not understand. A place under Government, a seat in

the Chamber, where they receive so many dollars per diem, a municipal office however small, these are the sole aim of their life. The few who obtain them become loyal subjects ; those who do not, talk loudly of want of freedom, of the political disabilities they lie under, and of the necessity of a revolution. The more able amongst them become turbulent demagogues, succeed in creating a revolution, and satisfied with dividing the plunder of Government patronage, leave things as they were until turned out by some fresh set of hungry office seekers. In the meantime, no local improvements, no diminution of taxation, no progress in agriculture or commerce. It is impossible that amongst such a people a free constitution should prosper. Some man, more able than his fellows, will take the lead, and backed by the masses whom he corrupts, will master the more timid and vacillating.

Such has been the state of Greece since she has been a nation, and such would have been the state of the Ionian Islands, had it not been for British protection. England has, however, not only steadily nurtured the constitution she originated in spite of all the obstacles placed in her way by cupidity, self-interest, and ignor-

ance, but has succeeded in giving actual freedom and imparting strict justice to the people committed to her charge, thus enabling them to reach an amount of social comfort, and of prosperity, not surpassed by any portion of the globe.

THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

By the treaty of Campo Formio, 17th Oct. 1797, the Venetian possessions in the Levant were ceded to the French Republic. They consisted of the present Ionian Islands ; Butrinto, Parga, and Prevezza, on the coast of Albania ; Vonitza on the Gulph of Arta ; and the Islands of Calamos, Meganessi, and Kastro, between Sta. Maura and Greece.

The object of the French government in obtaining this concession, was the Island of Corfú. From thence the French squadron could, in the event of fresh hostilities, sail up the Adriatic, co-operate with the army of Italy and keep the Court of Naples in check, whilst the separation of the island from Venice presented an insurmountable obstacle to the Aus-

trians having a navy of any importance.* General Buonaparte was especially struck with its strategic importance, in relation to the efforts which France was then making, to extend her influence in the Levant: Corfú having for so many centuries been the chief bulwark of Christendom against the encroachments of the Turks, its value was proportionally increased at a time when the Ottoman Empire was in its decline.

On the 16th August, 1797, General Buonaparte wrote from Milan to the Executive Directory: "I have sent to the citadel of Corfú the two battalions of the 79th, I wish you would order General Sahuguet to forward the 3rd battalion which is at Avignon, and which I shall also dispatch to Corfú."

"The Islands of Corfú, of Zante, and of Cephalonia, are of greater interest to us than all Italy put together. I think that if we were obliged to make a choice, it would be advisable to restore Italy to the Emperor, and for us to keep the four islands, which are a source of wealth and prosperity to our com-

* Thiers' *Histoire de la Revolution Française*, t. ix. ch. ii. Daru, *Histoire de Vénise*, c. xxxviii. *Correspondance de Napoléon*, tom. iii. p. 236.

merce. The Turkish Empire is crumbling from day to day, the possession of these islands will enable us to keep it together, if that is possible, or, to take our share of it. The time is not far distant, when we shall feel the necessity of taking possession of Egypt in order really to destroy England. The vast Ottoman Empire, which is daily perishing, forces us to take measures in good time for the preservation of our commerce in the Levant." *

On the 13th of September he again wrote from Passeriano to the Minister of Exterior Relations: "The Court of Naples dreams of nothing but acquisition and greatness. On one side it wants Corfú, Zante, Cephalonia, &c. ; and on another, half the States of the Church, and especially Ancona. These pretensions are too amusing. I think they mean to cede to us the Island of Elba in exchange. It appears to me, that the grand maxim of the Republic ought henceforth to be, never to abandon Corfú, Zante, &c. : we should find resources for our commerce which would be of great moment to us and to the future course of events in Europe.

"With the Island of San Pietro, which has been ceded to us by the King of Sardinia, joined

* Corresp. de Napoléon, tom. iii. p. 235.

to Malta and Corfú, we should be masters of all the Mediterranean." *

As soon, therefore, as the treaty between France and Austria was confirmed, General Buonaparte provisionally organised the whole of the Venetian possessions in the Ionian Seas into three departments, viz. Corcyra, Ithaca, and that of the Egean Sea,† and sent a reinforcement of troops under General Chabot who took the command.

But French rule soon proved obnoxious to the islanders. The abolition of nobility and of serfdom disgusted the Signori; the clergy were irritated by the establishment of secular schools, and the formation of a public library with the books found in the several monasteries; and the attempts on the part of the French to

* Montholon, Mémoires de Napoléon à Ste. Hélène.

† Dept. of Corcyra.	Dept. of Ithaca.	Dept. of the Egean Sea.
Chief town.	Chief town.	Chief town.
Corfú.	Argostoli.	Zante.
Corfú.	Cephalonia.	Zante.
Paxo.	Santa Maura.	Strophades.
Fano.	Ithaca.	Cerigo.
Merlero.	Calamos.*	Cerigotto.
Vido.	Meganessi.*	
Antipaxo.	Kastro.*	
Butrinto.*	Prevezza.*	
Parga.*	Vonitza.*	

introduce common honesty and justice in the public administration, only further alienated all classes.*

For many years the Venetian possessions of the Levant had been governed by a succession of Proveditore-Generals, whose anxiety to proceed thither mainly arose from a desire to retrieve their fortunes. Under the Proveditore were three functionaries appointed by the Venetian Senate, namely, "a secretary," to whom was confided the details of the political affairs of the islands; "an interpreter," who assisted in the relations carried on with the Turkish Continent; and "a treasurer," who besides the finances, had the charge of the store and commissariat departments. One and all, like the Proveditore, had but one object in view, the acquisition of a fortune; and their example was followed by all under them. Certain of impunity in their malpractices, the sums of money allotted by the public treasury for the maintenance of garrisons, for munitions of war, and the repairs of fortresses, were turned to their private profit.†

* Bellaire, *Expédition Française du Levant*, ch. ix.

† Vaudoncourt, *Isles Ioniennes*. Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* ch. cxxv. Bellaire, *Exp. Fran. du Levant*. St. Sauveur, *Isles Ioniennes*, t. iii. ch. iv.

This disgraceful system was fully exposed in the year 1773, owing to the Proveditore-General, Peter Quirini, having sold all the commissariat and ordnance stores, amassed at Corfú, to the Russians then at war with the Porte. Complaints were, in consequence, made by the latter power to Venice, which, alarmed at the possibility of a rupture with its old enemy, condemned Quirini to three years imprisonment.* But the evil was so widely spread, that, even the punishment of an offender of so high a rank, was unable to check it; and when Venice fell before the conquering armies of the French Republic, the arsenals and military stores at Corfú were found to be in the greatest disorder, nearly all the guns dismounted, the gun carriages rotten, and the fortifications and barracks in a state of dilapidation.†

Yet bad as the Venetian officials were, they could look down on the native Signori with the utmost disdain. The policy of Venice had ever been to demoralise their dependencies, and never to trust them. The celebrated Padre Paolo, in his "Opinion as to how the Republic

* Daru, Hist. de Vénise.

† Bellaire, Exp. Fran. du Levant.

ought to govern itself at home and abroad,"* written by order of the Inquisitors of State, says, "For your Greek subjects of the island of Candia, and of the other islands of the Levant, there is no doubt but there is some greater regard to be had of them ; first, because that the Greek faith is never to be trusted, and secondly, because they would not much stick at submitting to the Turk, having the example of the rest of the nation before their eyes. These must, therefore, be watched with more attention, lest, like wild beasts as they are, they should find an occasion to use their teeth and claws. The surest way is to keep good garrisons to awe them ; and not use them to arms or musters in hopes of being assisted by them in an extremity : for they will always show ill disposition proportionably to the strength they shall be masters of ; they being of the nature of the galley slaves, who, if they were well used, would return kindness by seizing the galley, and carrying it and its commander to Algiers : bread and the stick ought to be their share, and keep good nature for a better occasion.

* Daru, *Hist. de Vénise. Statuts de l'Inquisition d'Etat, &c.*, ch. xxxix.

“ As for the *gentlemen* of these colonies, you must be very watchful of them ; for, besides the natural ferocity arising from the climate, they have the character of noblemen, which raises their spirit, as the frequent rebellions of Candia do sufficiently evidence. If the gentlemen of these colonies do tyrannise over the villages of their dominions, the best way is *not to seem to see it*, that there may be no kindness between them and their subjects ; but, if they offend in anything else, 'twill be well to chastise them severely, that they may not brag of any privileges more than others. It will not be amiss, likewise, to dispute all their pretensions to any particular jurisdiction ; and if, at any time, their nobility or title be disputed, you will do well to sell them the confirmation of it at as dear a rate as possible ; and, in a word, remember that all the good that can come from them is already obtained ; which was, to fix the Venetian dominions : and for the future, there is nothing but mischief to be expected from them.”

Such a policy bore its own fruits. The Ionian Signori became remarkable only for the avidity with which they sought after positions, which in more civilised countries apper-

tain to the middle classes of citizens, and for the servile way in which they cringed to their Venetian masters. Out of the small population of Corfú alone, one hundred and fifty signori were annually chosen to fill up the various municipal offices ; and when once a year they were honoured with a dinner at the house of the Proveditore-General, the guests, by way of ingratiating themselves, not only amply supplied the festive board, but each slipped under his plate, previous to leaving the table, a small memorandum, respecting so many measures of oil, which were to be paid to the Proveditore, either in kind or money, at the next harvest.

It is but natural that such men should have looked with dislike on the French, who carefully precluded them from any participation in the municipal revenues, and proclaimed the equality of the peasantry with their masters. But the peasantry themselves, influenced by their landlords and priests, were ready to rise against those who had ordered the abolition of serfdom, and a revolt was only checked by the banishment of the Latin Archbishop to Dalmatia.

The stay of the French was, however, to be but of short duration. On the 1st August, 1798,

took place the battle of the Nile ; and on the 1st of September the Porte, having concluded a treaty with Russia, by which his Imperial Majesty bound himself to furnish a fleet for the purpose of being employed against the common enemy, declared war against the French Republic, and ordered that all Frenchmen found in the Turkish dominions should "be seized as enemies to God, and men without faith or law."* The position of General Chabot was most critical. He was unable to obtain reinforcements of troops, ammunition, or provisions from the army of Italy ; and the political situation of Albania, which was at this time completely under the control of Alí Pascha of Joánnina, gave him great cause to fear not only for his dependencies on the mainland, but also for his supplies. The French general had received specific instructions to encourage Alí Pascha in every way in the endeavours he was making to become independent of the Porte ; and so long as the French power was in the ascendant, Alí made great protestations of friendship ; but no sooner did he hear the results of the battle of the Nile, than he wrote to General Chabot,

* Nelson's Dispatches, vol. vii. Addenda, p. 166.

demanding that Butrinto, Parga, Prevezza, Vonitza, and the fort of Santa Maura, should be given up to him. On the 6th October, the combined fleet, consisting of ten Russian sail of the line, four frigates, and several corvettes and brigs, under Vice-Admiral Ouschacow, and of thirty Turkish ships of the line, caravellas, corvettes, and brigs, under the orders of Abdel-kadir Bey, appeared off Cerigo, and in a few days afterwards, Ali, with a powerful force, swept away the French from all their dependencies in Albania.*

The time occupied by the combined fleet in reducing the lower islands, enabled General Chabot to make the best disposition in his power for defending Corfú ; but the increasing ill-feeling shown by the peasantry of the island, who were instigated by a Patriarchal Bull, caused him great uneasiness : as, in the event of their joining the enemy, he would be entirely thrown, for his supply of provisions, upon the town's-people. With a view to anticipate any attempt on the part of the latter, he had the whole of them disarmed, on the morning of the 3rd November,—but this only hurried on the

* James's Naval Hist. Bellaire, Exp. Franc. du Levant, ch. xiv.

catastrophe ; for the partisans of Russia, finding themselves suspected, retired to the neighbouring suburbs, and so industriously fomented the growing disaffection, that, on the very same day, they prevailed upon the inhabitants of the suburb of Manducchio to raise the standard of revolt. Having sent all their women and children to the neighbouring village of Potamo, the Manducchiots posted themselves on the heights opposite Fort Abraham, where they were joined by many of the peasantry from the interior of the island.

General Chabot, seeing the absolute necessity of checking such a movement in time, attacked them at about seven o'clock on the following morning, with eight hundred men, and one field-piece ; but the countrymen had taken such advantage of the broken ground, and intrenched themselves so strongly in the houses, that they could fire upon the troops without exposing themselves. To save his men, the General ordered the village to be battered from Fort Neuf, and by three gun-boats : and the houses, as soon as the peasantry were driven from them, were given to the flames. During this time, the line-of-battle ship '*Généreux*,'* sailed.

* Shortly before arrived at Corfú with her prize, the *Leander*.

into the port of Manducchio, and directed her fire, throughout the whole of the afternoon, against the further end of the village. After a spirited defence of seven hours, the peasantry were driven from all their positions, and the troops retired into the town, disarming, on their way back, the inhabitants of the villages of St. Roch and Kastrádhēs.

On the afternoon of the 4th, six large men-of-war having been signalled towards the south-east, the schooner *La 'Cybèle'* was dispatched to Ancona, to report the arrival of a combined fleet before Corfú. Early next morning, these anticipations were confirmed by a Russian line-of-battle ship and frigate, with two Turkish caravellas,* anchoring outside the island of Vido; whilst the two other ships remained cruising off Lebenizza. The same day, the Russian Admiral sent an officer on shore, to demand the surrender of the citadel in the names of the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan; but he was informed that a place of such strength could not be given up without a struggle.

On the next evening, the French corvette '*La*

* These were larger than frigates, with elevated poops, and carried fifty guns.

Brune,' having arrived by the northern channel, and announced the promised assistance of three thousand men from Ancona, General Chabot determined upon a spirited defence. The garrison numbered only eighteen hundred men, consisting of the

79th Demi-Brigade, (23 companies)	
about	1450
5th Company of the 2nd Battalion	
of Sappers, about	90
Artillery, about	210
Corcyrean Gendarmes, about	50
	<hr/>
	1800

Of this small force, two hundred men were placed in Fort Abraham, a company with some field-pieces in the redoubt of St. Roch, and four hundred and fifty men, under the command of General Piveron, were sent over to Vido. In addition to these, about one hundred civil *employés*, staff, &c., were organised into two corps, one of artillery, and one of cavalry, to escort the general in sorties, act as *éclaireurs*, &c. The naval force consisted of the 'Généreux,' 84; the 'Leander,' 50, but badly manned; the corvette 'La Brune,' 32; a bomb-ketch, a brig, and four small galleys.

The enemy remained strictly on the defensive till the 20th ; when the remainder of the combined squadron joined them. On their arrival, the two Admirals decided upon a plan of operation which partook more of the nature of a blockade than of a siege. The Russians were to land near Potamo, and direct their attack against Fort Abraham ; the Turks were to take up a position near Kastrádhés, to attack St. Saviour's ; whilst the fleet blockaded the harbour. Accordingly, on the 21st, the Russian and Turkish flag-ships, with six frigates and two brigs, moved up near to the Lazzaretto island, where the Russians formed their hospital ; and daily disembarked men at the Potamo flats. On the 25th, they took possession of Mount Olivetto, a height in front of the Potamo flats, supported by artillery and strong bodies of countrymen ; and though, next morning, at daylight, the garrison endeavoured by a sally to drive them from their position, the sallying party was forced to retire, having only made seven Corfiot prisoners, five of whom were condemned to be shot. The same day, General Chabot ordered the village of St. Roch to be burnt down, that it might not afford shelter to the enemy. In the meantime, the Russians formed

a battery of heavy guns and howitzers on Mount Olivetto; and, the following morning, shelled the town, Fort Abraham, and Fort Neuf; compelling the French squadron to anchor off the Mandrachio. Whether it was owing to a misunderstanding between the two Admirals, or that, placing too much reliance upon exaggerated statements respecting the strength of the garrison, they were looking forward to the effects of starvation as the probable means of a speedy capitulation: it was not before the 28th, that the Turks disembarked at Paleopolis; whilst the Russians, to form a connection with them, began to construct a battery on the heights of Kastrádhēs, near the convent of St. Pantaleone. In the afternoon of the same day, the Turks were successful in surprising the small detachment at St. Saviour's; but it was almost immediately retaken by a party from the garrison.

General Chabot, unwilling to risk the loss of any part of his small force, restricted himself to strengthening his defences, and watching the undecided operations of the enemy. But, on the 1st of December, the Russian battery of St. Pantaleone having thrown shells into the citadel, it was considered absolutely necessary to destroy

it. For this purpose, six hundred men, accompanied by two field-pieces, were marched out at nine o'clock that morning ; the battery was stormed ; the guns were spiked ; and the enemy's artillerymen either killed or taken prisoners. General Chabot, taking advantage of the ardour inspired among his men by this success, proceeded to lead them to the attack of the battery on Mount Olivetto ; but here they were repulsed with loss. During this last attack, the inhabitants of Kastrádhés fled from their village ; the greater part of which was burnt down that same evening, lest it should afford shelter to the enemy in any future attack on St. Saviour's.

For some days, the besiegers occupied themselves in strengthening their positions ; but, on the 12th, the Russians, having completed two new batteries on Mount Olivetto connected with strong intrenchments, reopened their fire, which never ceased till the town capitulated : their artillery, however, caused little loss to the garrison ; for, as the Russians always fired in salvos, the besieged took refuge each time ; and returned to their guns between the intervals.

On the 14th, the Turks extended themselves in single line from Potamo to the heights of

Karidachio ; and repulsed a body of skirmishers, which had been sent to harass them in this movement, as far as the glacis of Fort Abraham : upon which, the General, with two hundred men, made a diversion upon the heights of Karidachio and the salt-pans of Kastrádhēs, which induced the enemy to fall back upon Potamo. On the 16th, the Turks again made a movement towards the salt-pans of Kastrádhēs ; and were, a second time, driven back to Potamo : they, however, succeeded in effecting their object on the 4th of January ; and, although General Chabot, with five hundred men and two guns, endeavoured to check their movement, he was obliged to retire before the increasing numbers of the enemy. The same day, the French brig-of-war 'Rivoli' succeeded in entering the harbour.

Owing to the frequent movements of the Turks in the direction of Kastrádhēs, General Chabot began to fear for St. Saviour's ; although from the dilatory manner in which their operations were carried on, it was difficult to discover what their real intentions were. As he was unable to spare a sufficient number of men to garrison the whole of the fort, he ordered its left bastion to be cut off by a coupure strength-

ened with a palisaded parapet. At the end of ten days, it was finished ; and a hundred men were placed within it. About this time, it being considered useless to keep the squadron, as, in case of the town having to surrender, it would of course be included in the capitulation, the ‘Généreux,’ ‘Rivoli,’ and ‘La Fortune,’ taking advantage of a dark night, sailed for Ancona, on the 5th of February, and escaped with a favourable breeze.

On the morning of the 10th, in consequence of numerous corps of Turks having been disembarked during the night, and taken possession of the village of Kastrádhés and all the heights about it ; it appeared evident that they had at length determined upon attacking St. Saviour’s. This position was of such importance to the garrison, that General Chabot was resolved to make a vigorous effort to prevent its capture. On the same day, therefore, he attacked the enemy with three separate bodies of two hundred men each. The first, supported on its right by three field-pieces, was to intercept a junction between the Turks at Potamo and those at Kastrádhés ; the second was to form on the glacis of St. Saviour’s, and attack the centre of the village of Kastrádhés, which

then extended to the sea-shore ; whilst the third was to proceed along the shore, in order to make a simultaneous attack upon the enemy, who were intrenched in the houses bordering upon the sands. The columns of the left and centre succeeded in driving the enemy from St. Athanasius to St. Pantaleone ; but the Turks, rallying here behind their intrenchments, in their turn assumed the offensive, and drove the French entirely out of the village. The column on the right was not more successful ; and the whole were driven back to the glacis of St. Saviour's. The General, having reinforced the garrison of that fort with two hundred men, retired into the town with the remainder. That night, the Turks hoisted two guns on the top of the bell tower of the church of St. Athanasius ; but the batteries of the fort soon destroyed it. On the 11th, Admiral Ouschacow, observing the slowness with which the Turks carried on the operations on their side, reinforced them with a body of Russians, who were landed at Kas-trádhēs ; while he ordered a strong battery to be formed at St. Pantaleone. Although the garrison kept up a constant fire, the enemy had formed by the 18th a battery of ten guns upon the approaches to the village ; and, by the 24th,

a battery of twenty guns parallel with the citadel and the south-east end of the town. These batteries began their fire in concert with that on Mount Olivetto ; but the French, being now in want of ammunition, could only return one shot out of ten. On the 26th, the Turks again attempted to form a lodgment on the glacis of St. Saviour's ; but were forced to retreat to Kastrádhés.

About this time the English eighteen-gun brig, ' El Corso,' Commander Lord William Stuart,* who had been despatched for the purpose of inducing the Russian and Turkish Admirals to send some of their fleet to Messina, joined the combined squadrons.† Lord Nelson had repeatedly solicited Admiral Ouschacow to take a more extended view of the intended operations ; and to remember that Corfú, being but a secondary object, must fall of itself, when the French had been driven from the more important positions in Italy and Egypt : but the Russian Admiral, knowing the unfitness of his ships to keep to sea during the winter,

* Bellaire, *Exp. Fran. du Levant*, mentions Commodore Stewart, but the only officer of that name then in the Mediterranean was Commander Lord William Stuart. See Schomberg's *Naval Chronology*, vol. iv.

† Nelson's *Dispatches*, vol. vii. p. 175 of Addenda.

preferred carrying on the protracted siege of the island.* However, Lord William Stuart, who was a young man of a particularly bold and imperious disposition, on his arrival caused the operations to proceed with more vigour : and it was soon decided that a combined attack should be made upon three points at once ; viz., the Island of Vido, Fort Abraham, and Fort St. Saviour. Owing to a deficiency of money and materials, General Chabot had been unable to construct either a fort or an enclosed redoubt on the Island of Vido, which, at this time, was a large olive grove : but batteries, numbering forty guns, had been formed upon the five most saillant points of the island ; whilst such other points as appeared favourable for disembarking, were defended by trenches and abattis. The troops were bivouacked upon the heights overlooking the batteries, and on such points as appeared favourable for defence. The bombard, ‘*La Frimaire*,’ and some demi-galleys, formed a floating battery in the small harbour on the west of the island. The engineers had also constructed reverberating furnaces near the shore batteries. The defence of the island

* Nelson’s Dispatches, vol. iii.

could, however, only be temporary, for it did not possess even a small redoubt, where the garrison might concentrate their defence, in case of the enemy disembarking at several points ; and, besides, the guns on the batteries, being mounted on old ship-carriages, could be manœuvred but very slowly, and with extreme fatigue to the men.

The enemy having completed their arrangements by the night of the 28th February, on the following morning, at eight o'clock, two guns were fired from the Russian flag-ship. At this signal the allied fleet made for Vido, and took up their positions within half gun-shot, in a direction from west to north-east ; whilst simultaneous attacks were made on Fort Abraham and St. Saviour by bodies of Russians and Turks respectively, who were supported by the batteries of Mount Olivetto and St. Pantaleone. As soon as General Chabot perceived the object of the fleet's manœuvre, he immediately sent a reinforcement of two hundred men to Vido : but, by the time they landed, upwards of eight hundred guns were ploughing up the island in every direction, whole trees being carried off, the numberless splinters of which made any defence almost impracticable. This tremendous

fire lasted for three hours ; at the end of which time, the French batteries being totally destroyed, a body of Russians, about a thousand strong, were landed at the western point of the island, whilst an equal number of Turks disembarked at the north. The garrison, driven from their batteries, retreated to the more elevated point ; but, the Russians having formed a square in the centre of the island, they took refuge within it, to escape the barbarity of the Turks who gave no quarter. Of their whole number, only fifty escaped by boats to Corfú, two hundred having been killed, and four hundred, with their General Piveron, taken prisoners.

The enemy were not so successful in their other two points of attack. The Russians had failed in theirs on Fort Abraham ; and, although they had then joined their allies, and succeeded in getting into the ditches of St. Saviour's, and put up scaling ladders, the brave resistance of its small garrison of one hundred and eighty men, and the heavy fire from the town, forced them to retreat, about six o'clock, with severe loss. General Chabot, however, seeing that its garrison would be cut off, were the enemy to renew their attack that night, ordered the parapets and artillery to be rendered useless,

and then withdrew it. The following morning the General sent his aide-de-camp, M. Grouvel, to request from the Russian Admiral an armistice of forty-eight hours, which was granted.

The garrison was now reduced to the most distressing extremity. Having for upwards of four months defended a town, the fortifications of which required a complement of, at least, five thousand men,* it was, at length, completely worn out with the incessant watching and toil which the limited extent of the force entailed upon them. During that interval, although they had suffered under the want of materials of every description, upwards of three hundred guns had been added to the works; making a total, at the end of the siege, of four hundred and fifty guns. Since the latter end of November the supply of meat had totally failed, and, the month after, a fowl cost twenty francs, a pigeon twelve, and all the fish that was obtained was reserved for the use of the sick and wounded. The loss of Vido had deprived them of their supply of fuel. The inhabitants were also driven to a state of desperation

* A French estimate, made at the time, makes it 7000 men; viz., 5700 infantry, 800 artillery, 400 sappers, and 100 ordnance workmen.

through famine and disease ; and the only part of the community which still remained friendly to the French interest were the Jews, who, by their willing assistance throughout the siege, endeavoured to express their gratitude for the protection which had been afforded them against the dastardly vexations of the native population.

On the morning of the 3rd of March, a council of war was held : and the deliberations having led to the decision that all further resistance would be unavailing, the French garrison capitulated.

The following day, the forts were formally given over to the allies : the Russians occupying the citadel and Fort Neuf, whilst the outworks were garrisoned by the Turks. The town of Corfú was given up to Kádir Bey ; who placed a garrison in it, and appointed Patrona Bey as Governor. The Albanian auxiliaries, to the number of twelve thousand, were conveyed to the opposite side, much to their disappointment, as they had requested for their reward to be allowed twenty-four hours' pillage of the town. In the latter end of March the French embarked for Ancona.*

* On the 7th of December, General Delmas had sent a reinforce-

ment of three thousand men in three ex-Venetian men-of-war, but, owing to continued bad weather and their leaky state, they were obliged to put back, having been a month at sea, without being able to make the island. A second expedition, consisting of the 'Généreux' and nine transports, left Ancona twenty-nine days after the capitulation of Corfú; but hearing of the event, they put back.

CHAPTER II.

A CHANGE of masters did not improve the condition of the islanders. On the 21st March, 1800, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the islands of Corfú, Paxo, Santa Maura, Cephalonia, Ithaca, Zante, and Cerigo, were constituted into a Septinsular Republic, vassal and tributary to the Porte, and to be governed by the principal and notable men of the country.* His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias engaging, for himself and his successors, to guarantee the integrity of the States of the said Republic, and the maintenance of the Constitution which was to be given to them.

The more ancient families of the nobility at once recovered all their former privileges and

* Convention between the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople relative to the Ionian Islands and their dependencies, 21st March, 1800.

hereditary despotism. Extinguished factions were again lighted up, and, although a form of local government was established in each island, with a general government at Corfú, the rivalry of the islands among themselves became a real and active struggle on the score of precedence and sovereignty.* Little more than a year had elapsed since the formation of the Septinsular Republic, and it had already sunk into the passive existence of a political decrepitude. Each of the seven islands had not only become guilty of treason and rebellion against their general government, but even, in many instances, against the local government : and the whole of them presented one scene of anarchy, robbery, and murder.† They were sailing like a bark without a pilot, occupying a national position to which they were not accustomed, without experience, social vigour, or good councils. Abandoned to the impulse of every evil passion, disunited among each other by pride and distrust, and jealous of their mutual rights and interests, they each of them exhibited a frightful theatre of civil discord ;

* Vaudoncourt, *Isles Ioniennes*, ch. ii.

† Letter from the deputation of the Onoranda to the Government, in the *Tre Costituzione della Isole Ionie*, p. 27. Corfu, 1849.

owing to the struggles of factions, and the ambition of parties contending for pre-eminence, each with its different political opinions; and which at last terminated in the treasonable efforts of base demagogues against their country. Thus, anarchy stalked about like a horrible phantom, spreading desolation and ruin.* Leucadia, Ithaca, and Cephalonia, each adopted a peculiar system of government: and Zante openly resisted a Septinsular detachment which had been sent from Corfú to occupy its fortress. At Corfú itself a meeting of self-appointed deputies from the inhabitants both of the town and country took place, which, in October 1801, reformed the Byzantine constitution; and the legislative authority was established under the title of Onoranda.† It was, however, only a continued struggle between the upper and middle classes, whilst a band of organized assassins carried their attacks to the very gates of the town.

In the midst of this state of things the more orderly part of the population turned their

* Speech of Count Mocenigo, August 29th, 1803. Quarterly Review, No. 57.

† St. Vincent, *Isles Ioniennes*, ch. v. Parl. Papers, June 22nd, 1840, Annex. A. *Le Tre Costituzioni della sette Isole Ionie*. Corfu, 1849, p. 21.

attention towards Russia, as affording the only prospect of retrieving the actual state of affairs. Since the latter years of the eighteenth century, when many of the inhabitants of the Ionian Isles had been obliged to take refuge in that country from the tyranny of the Venetian Governors, Russian influence had gradually increased in the islands, not only on account of the religious affinity which subsisted, but also from the encouragement given to such Ionians as distinguished themselves in science and art ; and although but few obtained the favour of these distinctions, great numbers exerted themselves to merit them.* A deputation was therefore sent by the senate to St. Petersburg to request a new constitution from the Emperor Alexander, and, further, to pray that it might be supported by an imposing armed force, in order to defeat the obstinate, artful, and violent expedients that would be put in motion to subvert it.† In accordance with these wishes, the Emperor dispatched Count Mocenigo, a Zantiot nobleman who had risen high in the Russian service, as plenipotentiary, with full

* Daru, *Hist. de Vénise*, ch. xv., xxxv. De Bosset's *Parga*.

† Directions of the Senate to their envoy Naranzi. *Quarterly Review*, No. 57.

powers to organize a new form of government.

Shortly after his arrival he proclaimed, by a manifesto of September, 1802, a few provisional regulations, and authorized each island to name, and send to Corfú, deputies, whose duty it should be to arrange amongst themselves the fundamental basis of the new constitution. The several islands obeyed the injunction, and their deputies, to the number of forty, assembled at Corfú, where they chose from amongst themselves nine members, who were to prepare the subjects which should be brought forward for the discussion and sanction of the assembly. So great was Mocenigo's influence, that a constitution, proposed at St. Petersburg, was discussed and accepted in one day, the 23rd November.*

Although this newly adopted code was full of defects, the election of magistrates and judges being still in the hands of the Signori, yet it produced order, and restored tranquillity; and its purpose would have been completely effected had the Russian minister plenipotentiary been more prudent, and the civil and

* Vaudoncourt, *Isles Ioniennes*, ch. ii. St. Vincent, *Isles Ioniennes*, ch. v.

military administration less extravagant. But the public voice accused him of having amassed a private fortune by following the example of the Venetian proveditores ; whilst the military expense was out of all proportion.*

But the Russian government soon lost sight of the pledges it had given in 1800 to the Septinsular Republic. Napoleon, in the midst of the important events which divided Europe, had not forgotten the advantage which the possession of Corfú would give to the French, an object which had become of greater importance since the occupation of Malta by the English. He therefore obtained the cession of the Septinsular Republic to France in full sovereignty by the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, 7th July, 1807. So great was his anxiety to see Corfú occupied, that, on the 8th of July, the following letter was dispatched to the King of Naples :—" I am desired by the Emperor to have the honour of forwarding to your Majesty the notification which announces the signature of the peace between the Emperor and King Napoleon, and the Emperor Alexander. By one of the articles, *Corfú* is to be given up to

* Vaudoncourt, Isles Ioniennes, ch. ii.

France. The wish of the Emperor is, that a French regiment, an Italian regiment of the kingdom of Italy, two companies of French artillery, two companies of Italian artillery, and two companies of sappers, forming together a force of at least four thousand men, commanded by a general of brigade, shall be at once cantoned at Otranto and at Tarento, so as to be ready to be conveyed to Corfú as soon as the orders of the Emperor of Russia shall arrive.

“It is of importance, Sire, that the occupation of Corfú should be kept in the greatest secrecy, as well as that of Cattaro, which is likewise to be given up to the French power.”*

Napoleon, with his usual sagacity, had perceived the weak point of the islanders. To please the country people, the Greek religion was declared to be that of the State ; and, to propitiate the Signori, no improvements were made in the courts of justice, whilst the senate was nominally recognised.* General Donzelot, the French commandant, was also happily chosen, being a man of talent and integrity. He had seen much service, having been in Ger-

* M. Dumas, *Précis des Événements Militaires*, 1806—7, tome v.

many with General Moreau, who had promoted him to the rank of general of brigade. In 1804 and 1805 he was at the head of Marshal Augereau's staff; and having, the following year, distinguished himself in the campaign against Prussia and Russia, he had obtained the rank of general of division. Accustomed to the strict discipline of the field, he caused the police to be administered with severity, and property to be respected: the youth of the island were encouraged to frequent the colleges of France and Italy; and, the government being placed in rational hands, the people no longer required interpreters.* This conciliating policy, in course of time, reaped its own reward; and, when the lower islands, one after another, received the British troops with open arms, the Corfiots, satisfied with their governor, remained tranquil, amidst the scenes of warfare which surrounded them.

In the year 1809, Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, having been apprised that the inhabitants of Cephalonia and Zante were desirous of throwing over the French and restoring the Septinsular government, ordered Captain

* Vaudoncourt, *Isles Ioniennes*, ch. ii. *Biographie des Contemporains*, art. Donzelot.

Spranger, of H.M.S. 'Warrior,' to take with him the 'Spartan,' frigate, and 'Espoir,' sloop, to reduce these islands. It was not, however, intended to make any conquest, but merely to liberate them from the French yoke: the Sept-insular flag was to be hoisted, and, on landing, Captain Spranger was directed to issue a proclamation, setting forth that the intention of the expedition was to expel the French, liberate the people, and reinstate the former government. At the same time, he was to give them to understand that, once the enemy was expelled, they were to garrison their own islands; but that, from consideration of the important assistance they had derived from the British forces, the ministers, who were to be appointed for the administration of the government, should be recognized and approved of by the British commanders.*

In obedience with these orders, Captain Spranger sailed from Messina on the 23rd September, with H.M.S. 'Philomel,' two large gunboats, and the transports, with troops under Brigadier-General Oswald. He arrived off Cephalonia on the 25th, and continued in sight

* Instructions from Vice-Admiral Collingwood to Captain Spranger.

till the 1st October, when, being joined by the 'Spartan,' from Malta, 'Magnificent,' 'Belle-Poule,' and 'Kingfisher,' from Corfú, he anchored that night in the bay of Zante, just without reach of the nearest battery. At daylight the next morning the troops assembled alongside the 'Warrior,' and, under cover of the 'Spartan,' 'Belle-Poule,' and gun-boats, landed and invested the castle. The same day the enemy capitulated. A provisional government was at once established, the troops re-embarked, and the squadron, augmented by the 'Leonidas,' sailed for Cephalonia. The men-of-war, on entering the port, formed into two columns, with transports in rear. Fort St. George surrendered the same day without resistance. Following up this success, the 'Philomel' sloop was directed to reduce Ithaca, and the 'Spartan,' Cerigo. The former of these, having on board Mr. Foresti, H. B. M. minister to the Septinsular Republic, entered the harbour of Ithaca on the 8th, when the battery, which only consisted of two guns and seventy men, was surrendered at once by its commandant.

On the 9th, Captain Jahleel Brenton, in the 'Spartan,' reduced Cerigo, after a very slight

resistance : it had long been a nest of privateers of the very worst description, directed against the trade of all nations, and of singular annoyance to the British.*

At the conclusion of these hostilities, Brigadier-General Oswald established his headquarters at Zante, from whence he sailed the 21st March, 1810, with Captain Eyre, in command of H. M.'s ships, 'Magnificent,' 'Belle-Poule,' and 'Imogene,' to reduce the island of Sta. Maura. Early the next day the troops disembarked to the southward of the town, and drove a party of Albanians from the adjacent heights, and, on reaching the town, it was found to be evacuated ; the French General Camus having, with his whole force (about 1000 men), retired within the outworks which surrounded the fortress. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, in command of the advance, was left to watch the enemy's movements from the town, supported by Colonel Wilder with two battalions, whilst General Oswald proceeded, with a portion of light infantry, to reconnoitre the isthmus, which he found defended by a series of field-works, stretching from the lagoon to the sea. Major

* Parl. Papers relating to the operations in the Adriatic in 1809.

Church, with four companies of the Greek light infantry, gallantly carried the first of these, and the enemy retired upon his next intrenchment, where he remained in force, assiduously employed in completing its defence. As it was obvious no time should be lost in taking this second work, which was defended by four pieces of cannon, with some 500 infantry, H. M. S. 'Leonidas,' was brought into action as close as the depth of water would admit of, during which time the troops formed into columns, and advanced on the work, protected to a certain distance by the ground ; but before long, becoming exposed to a heavy and well-directed fire of grape and musketry, fell back. Captains Eyre and Stevens, of the navy, were amongst the wounded. General Oswald immediately directed Major Clarke to bring up a battalion of detachments, consisting of two companies of the Royal Marines, under Captains Snowe and Stuart, two companies of De Rolls under Major De Bosset, and two companies of the Calabrian free corps under Major Oswald. The Royal Marines, led by Major Clarke, broke through the abbatis, charged into the intrenchments, and were nobly supported by the De Rolls. The contest was not of long duration ;

the enemy fled at all points, pursued with the bayonet from work to work; and such was his precipitation, that he not only abandoned the camp and cannon of the attacked line, but leaving his remaining strong positions retired within the fortress. Siege batteries were then erected of two 32-pounders, nine 18-pounders, four howitzers, and six mortars, which opened fire on the 5th April, and on the 16th the garrison surrendered.

General Oswald, having placed a garrison in the fort, returned to Zante, to organize a system of government for the five islands.

To each island a British officer was appointed as chief of the government; and although a council of presidency, consisting of four members, and an administrative body of forty members, were formed to carry on the civil matters of each island; yet, in reality, the British Commander was omnipotent.* That the people were satisfied with their rule appears evident, from the fact that the Count de Foscardi was deputed, in the name of the Ionian people, to request that Major-General Sir James Campbell,

* See Official Gazette from 1809—1814. Martin's British Colonies, vol. i. p. 383.

who had succeeded Brigadier-General Oswald, should be appointed Civil Commissioner to the Septinsular Circle.*

Corfú was no longer the dilapidated fortress which General Chabot had vainly endeavoured to defend. Well supplied with ammunition ; its guns mounted ; Vido, denuded of its olive-trees, and strengthened by field-works ; it was considered too strong to be attacked : and General Donzelot, from behind his citadel, laughed at the imaginary blockade which the British Government supposed would be effected by two frigates. Alí Pashá also had, since the year 1799, learned to respect the power of the French, and, though he asked a high price for his provisions, he dared not refuse them ; and the French Governor had caused telegraphs to be established all along the coast of the island, so that, as soon as the two English frigates were out of sight, boats immediately ran over to the coast of Albania, and plentiful supplies were brought back [1813].† This state of affairs lasted till the middle of February, 1814 ; when a detachment of troops, under Colonel Church, assisted by the ‘ Apollo ’

* Proclamation by Sir James Campbell, April 30th, 1813.

† Napier's Ionian Islands. Tour in the Levant, by W. Turner.

frigate, took possession of Paxo, as a preliminary to an attack on Corfú [1814]. From the small force which the British possessed in the Ionian Islands, this demonstration was most probably a feint, designed to impose on General Donzelot ; who was, however, not to be intimidated. But the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau superseded all the gallant veteran's preparations for a defence : and the island of Corfú was, upon the official orders of Louis XVIII., surrendered to General Sir James Campbell, who accepted it in the name of the allies generally.*

The question of the disposal of the Sept-insular Republic naturally attracted the attention of the Congress of Vienna, and the views of the English Government on the subject were ably summed up by Lord Castlereagh in a dispatch which he sent to Lord Liverpool, Dec. 24, 1814, from Vienna. "Although no overture has yet been made to me by any of the powers with respect to the Ionian Islands, and as my object has been to keep this possession in our hands to the last, as a security for the due observance of all engagements in which

* Lord Castlereagh's Corresp., vol. ix. p. 529.

we are interested, I am desirous of throwing before you some ideas upon this point, in order that I may learn, if possible before I am called to explain myself, the general view the Cabinet now take of the question. We have hitherto never laid claim to retain these islands as a British possession. On the contrary, at Chatillon and Paris there was a sort of understanding that they were to be given to the King of Sicily, as a part of his indemnity. So long as he is excluded from Naples, to this appropriation, if not declined by him, I think we might hold to the exclusion of any other project; and so long as Ferdinand the IVth does not occupy the continent of Italy, Austria will not object to his having the Ionian Isles; but she would object, and justly, to both shores of the entrance to the Adriatic being in the hands of the same power. The events that have passed since the peace of Paris, and especially the conduct of Russia with respect to the Duchy of Warsaw, might afford some ground for a new claim on our part to further advantages; but, if our policy is to try the chance of peace, I doubt the prudence of directly hazarding a new demand of this description on our own part.

“ In disposing of these islands there are, as it appears to me, two paramount objects to be attended to ; the one to provide adequately for the protection of the people who have so long confided themselves to our care : the other, not to suffer Russia to acquire any establishment in those islands, to the hazard of the internal tranquillity both of Greece and Hungary, which latter kingdom is full of Greeks.

“ With respect to the first of these objects, it might be secured by some arrangement like that lately framed for Genoa ; but, in order to steer clear of the old republican form of government, which might afford a pretext for the renewal of Russian protection, it appears to me desirable to give a direct sovereignty over these islands, under whatever conditions may be thought right, to some acknowledged European power, and if this power cannot be Great Britain, in order to exclude Russia, we may insist that the sovereign authority shall belong to a local power, that is, to the King of Sicily, or to the Emperor of Austria, according as the kingdom of Naples may remain with Murat, or return under the dominion of the ancient family. In the latter case the sovereignty to belong to Austria.

“The principal utility of the seven islands being the convenience of their harbour for purposes of refreshment and commerce, especially in war, might not they be neutralized, as was intended in respect to Malta in 1801, and their ports rendered free, on very moderate duties, to all nations? If this was the object, perhaps the works at Corfú should be demolished, and the system guaranteed by all the great powers—a sovereign authority nevertheless to be confided to some neighbouring state, to guard against local cabals, and to give unity and weight to the executive government; but this sovereignty, I apprehend, by a special capitulation, might be rendered consistent with such a system.

“There is a native of these islands, M. Capodistrias, now here; he is a man of ability; has for some time acted as Russian plenipotentiary in Switzerland, and is at present much employed by the Emperor: in speaking of these islands one day to Mr. Cooke, he said that, as a Russian Minister, he must promote whatever objects his court might give him in charge, but that, as a native, his opinion was that these islands, for their own happiness and prosperity, should remain under the protection of Great

Britain, as the greatest Maritime Power, the best able to secure to them the advantages of their flag, and the freedom of their commerce." *

Capodistrias stood high in favour with the Emperor Alexander. A Corfiot of good family, but small expectations, he had been sent, shortly previous to the fall of Venice, to study medicine at the College of Padua; whence he returned, on the expulsion of the French, and was appointed to the Secretariate of State of the Septinsular Republic, by Count Mocenigo; which office he continued to fill till the islands were given up by Russia. Invited, shortly after, to St. Petersburg, by Count Roumiantsov, he obtained an attachéship to the Russian Embassy at Vienna in 1811, where his abilities recommended him, the following year, as a fit person to assist Admiral Tchitchacow, then in command of the army of the Danube, in endeavouring to induce the Porte to ally itself with Russia; and the Admiral gave him the direction of the political correspondence with Vienna and Constantinople. In the meantime Napoleon invaded Russia: Tchitchacow was replaced by Barclay de Tolly; with whom

* Lord Castlereagh's Memoirs, series iii. vol. 2, p. 224.

Capodistrias remained, and shared the fatigues of the campaign of 1813, being present at the battles of Lützen, Bautzen, and Leipsic. When, after the last-named action, it was considered necessary to detach Switzerland from the French interest, the Emperor Alexander chose Capodistrias, with whom the Austrian Government joined the Chevalier Lebzeltern : but the high tone assumed, soon after, by the Allies, rendered his mission useless ; and he returned to the Russian head-quarters. Alexander, however, re-appointed him as envoy to the Swiss Confederacy ; a post which Capodistrias, from the experience he had acquired, in early life, in the petty strifes and divisions of the Septinsular Republic, filled with so much success, that he was appointed Russian representative at the Congress of Vienna, October, 1814.* He appears to have been sincerely desirous that the islands should be under British protection, and it was principally through his influence that by the treaty of 5th November, 1815, the seven islands were formed in a “single,” “free,” and

* “Correspondance de Jean, Comte Capodistrias, éditée par son frère.” He afterwards became one of the Russian secretaries of state ; but, having been offered the presidency of the new Republic of Greece, he unfortunately accepted it, and was murdered there, October 9th, 1831.

“independent” State ; which, under the protection of the Sovereign of Great Britain, was to be governed by a Lord High Commissioner, from whom it was to receive a Constitution. In the meanwhile, it was incorporated under the Governor of Malta.

CHAPTER III.

THE first British representative, Sir Thomas Maitland, was a man every way suited to the times, as well as to the position which he was called upon to fill. Possessing great shrewdness, accompanied by excessive roughness of manner, he ever viewed with distrust the insidious advances of any of the political factions into which the islands were divided. On his arrival, he saw clearly the unfitness of the people for a Constitutional Government ; which, in every state, must be the effect of time, accompanied by internal tranquillity : but, as a constitution had to be given, he drew one up ; which, placing as little power as possible in the hands of the Legislative Assembly, materially effected what he considered should be his primary object, viz., an improved administration of the civil and criminal code, and an ameliorated condition of the peasantry.*

* Speech of Sir Thomas Maitland, Feb. 3rd, 1817.

A legislative body of forty members elected from the seven islands was to assemble at Corfú biennially. Of these forty, eleven consisted of the President and five members of the Senate, the four Regents of the larger islands, and one Regent of the smaller islands; these eleven formed the Primary Council, were chosen by the Lord High Commissioner from the first assembly, and *de jure* formed part of the subsequent one. This Primary Council drew up a double list of twenty-nine persons, which was submitted to the *synclitæ* ;* and, as the double list usually consisted of men friendly to the Government, or of people of so little influence, that such of the *synclitæ* as were inimical to the Government, preferred generally voting for the former of these, it was easy to form a subservient legislative body. From this body, six members were chosen to form the Senate; and,

* To be a member of the *synclitæ* required, "To have been born of legitimate marriage or legitimized, of Christian parents, in one of the seven islands; to possess an annual revenue at Corfú of 1800 ducats; Cephalonia, 675; Zante, 1350; Santa Maura, 540; Cerigo, 255; Ithaca, 315; Paxo, 540; not to exercise any mechanical or other art; not to keep a shop; to have always led a decent life, and to be able to read and write in one of the languages used by Government; never to have been found guilty of infamous crimes, or fraudulency." *Le Tre Costituzione della sette Isole Ionie*, p. 42, Corfú, 1849. St. Vincent, *Isles Ioniennes*, ch. v.

as a handsome pecuniary allowance is part of the senateship, it was of course patronage for the Lord High Commissioner; the places of these six were filled up by another double list. The Regents of each island were also elected from the Assembly, which was also patronage; consequently, the whole of the Primary Council obeyed blindly the will of the Lord High Commissioner. The Senate was divided into three departments, viz., general, political, financial; each department having two senators.* The initiative of the Senate was vested in the President; but each senator was only allowed once in the same Session of Parliament to propose to the Senate any project or any subject, with the view of submitting the same project for discussion to the Senate, and even that was to be done verbally. If the President disapproved of the motion, the senator was to reduce it to writing; and, after being signed by a second senator, it was to be transmitted through the President to the Lord High Commissioner, who might veto it.† Any member of the Legislative Assembly proposing a motion, was obliged to give the Assembly notice of his intended motion; it was

* Constitution, ch. ii. sec. 2.

† Ibid. sec. 1.

then to lie on the table for some time ; and, if discussed, the third discussion was to decide upon it. If passed by the Assembly, it had next to pass the Senate, and then to receive the sanction of the Lord High Commissioner. If a bill was rejected by the Senate, or by the Lord High Commissioner, it was illegal to introduce it again during the course of that Session.*

The Legislative Assembly was to possess the power of regulating the ordinary expenses of the islands, and at the commencement of every Session of Parliament was to make such alteration or amendment on that head as seemed fitting. There was also to be laid on the table of the Legislative Assembly, within six days after the commencement of every Session of Parliament, by the Senate, through the medium of the secretary of its general department, the civil list of the whole of these States in all its branches ; and this list was either to be confirmed, altered, or amended, as the Legislative Assembly should decree.†

Although such an assembly left the whole control of the government to the Lords High

* Constitution, ch. iii. sec. 3.

† Ibid.

Commissioners, the deplorable state of the islands, when taken possession of by the British forces, would not have justified at the time any more liberal kind of government. The Venetian statute, which regulated the courts of justice, was monstrous in its principles, monstrous in its barbarity, monstrous in its folly : a code by which the crimes of petty offenders were made punishable with execrable torture, while the worst violences of the powerful were not only unchecked, but encouraged and invited into action ; a code which, after denouncing the most unequal and unjust punishments against the offences it defined, left all that was undefined to the caprice and the passions of judges. The immunity, therefore, enjoyed by the wealthy proprietors, enabled them not only to take every advantage of the distresses of their tenantry, but even to create it, by forcing them to borrow money from their sordid and avaricious masters at an exorbitant interest, which soon reduced them to a condition of slavery.*

The incorruptible uprightness of Sir Thomas Maitland's character, and the steadiness with which he carried out his reforms, soon made

* Turner's Tour in the Levant. Napier's Ionian Islands. Parting speech of Lord Nugent to the Senate.

him many enemies. The feeling of irritation against his government was, however, raised to the highest pitch by the cession of Parga. The Ionians could not understand that he was merely carrying out the orders of the home Government; and still less would they believe that the British people could sacrifice the last free Greek community to the Turkish yoke. But the fact was that, in that mighty game of politics which had recently been played in Europe, the existence of such a village had been overlooked; and, when the Turkish Government demanded the cession of Parga, in fulfilment of the treaty of 1815, no one in Great Britain was aware that it was anything else but a barren rock or desert island.* Yet, why should they have been blamed, when, at the treaty of Paris, an Ionian had represented Russia? why should he not have stipulated for the freedom of a community with which he had been familiar from his childhood? For four hundred years, it had enjoyed, under Venetian protection, a municipality of its own; and, when the Russians, in 1800, surrendered the Venetian dependencies on the main land to Turkey, the

* Lord Castlereagh in Parliament described it as an island.

prayer of the Parguinotes, and their threats to bury themselves in its ruins, had induced them to spare their city. In 1807, Alí Pashá, taking advantage of the proffered alliance of the French, demanded the town in a formal manner from the Governor-General of the Ionian Islands; pretending that the Russians had, by withholding it, broken through the treaty, and that France was bound to execute the engagements entered into by Russia. A deputation of the principal Parguinotes, however, prevailed; and, on the report of the Governor-General, the French Government refused to comply. Situated on a rock projecting into the Ionian Sea, and surrounded on the land side by almost inaccessible mountains, Parga, from the connection which its inhabitants kept up with the Paramithians, Súliots, and other independent tribes of the Cassiopean mountains, had become a harbour of refuge for the enemies of Alí: it was not to be supposed that the wily old chief would lose sight of the coveted point. As soon, therefore, as he had heard of Napoleon's reverses in 1814, he marched an army to the confines of the Parga territory, which extended about six miles in length and two in breadth; and took possession of Aja, one of its villages.

The Parguinotes, apprehensive that it was the intention of the French to deliver over the town to Ali, sent a deputation to Paxo, then occupied by the British forces, offering to surrender the town into their hands, as it was their determination to follow the fate of the Ionian Islands.

This proposition, having been put into writing, was accepted by the Commander of the Forces, Sir James Campbell: and, on the 22nd of March, the British took formal possession of the place; and they were so far considered incorporated with the Ionian Islands as to be afterwards taxed by the Ionian Senate. It was, therefore, with no small degree of apprehension that the Parguinotes discovered, in 1817, that it was in contemplation with the British Government, to deliver them up to their old enemy Ali; for though, in England, the subject was discussed as being a fulfilment of the treaty of 1815 with the Porte, yet the Greeks knew but too well how little the Porte dared to interfere in any part of Albania. At this crisis, Sir Thomas Maitland did the only thing which he could do; which was, to pledge himself that the place should not be yielded up, till the property of those who might choose to emigrate should

be paid for, and they themselves transplanted to the Ionian Islands : but Sir Thomas had to deal with one of the most crafty usurers in Europe. The population, to the number of about two thousand seven hundred, agreed to emigrate in a mass ; and, accordingly, two commissioners, one for Ali, and one for Sir Thomas, were appointed to survey and value the property ; but, being unable to come to any agreement, they were dismissed, and Ali obtained a suspension of all proceedings till May, 1818. New commissioners were again appointed, and again did Ali put every obstacle in their way ; until, at last, in June, 1819, Sir Thomas Maitland finally decided that the Parguinotes should receive the sum of £142,425, as compensation. It was here the Lord High Commissioner failed. He had pledged his word that the inhabitants should receive the full amount of their property ; and, therefore, when the town was to be given up to Ali, he should have demanded the amount it had been originally valued at. It was not to be expected that the inhabitants would keep houses in repair which they were not to inhabit, or till fields which they were not to reap ; and, consequently, by delaying the compensation, and causing a consequent depreciation of pro-

perty, Alí had to pay but one half of the original value : and to this loss, was to be added that occasioned by the listlessness of the two past years.*

That the people did not very much feel their emigration from an arid and ever-turbulent country, would be anticipated by every one acquainted with the Greek character ; but they did feel what Greeks will ever feel, that is, the loss of their money. To the Ionian Islands, however, and Corfú in particular, the accession of the Parguinotes became excessively beneficial, for they soon formed one of the most industrious portions of the community.

No sooner had the Ionian Government satiated the rapacity of Alí, by enabling him to take possession of the much-coveted Parga, than it found itself unexpectedly assailed by turmoils at home. In the beginning of the year, Capodistrias visited Corfú with the inten-

* It is excessively difficult to get at a fair and impartial view of the history of the cession of Parga, owing to its having been made in England a party question ; and, consequently, both parties publishing their own version, each of which lay equally remote from the truth. See "De Bosset's Parga ;" "Quarterly Review," No. 45 ; "Edinburgh Review," No. 63 ; "Estimate of Property abandoned by Parguinotes," in answer to "Quarterly Review ;" and Parliamentary Debates for 1819. Parl. Papers respecting Parga, 1819—21.

tion of once more seeing his aged father ;* but the factious Signori could only distinguish in the event the arrival of the Russian minister. The peasantry, guided by their priests, eagerly swallowed the rumours which were spread respecting the intentions of the Emperor of Russia, who, it was said, intended to repossess himself of the islands : and, in a very short space of time, a strong Russian party was formed. Capodistrias, pestered by his relations and friends to obtain for them advantageous posts in the Government, naturally used his best endeavours to do so, and even presented to the English Government, in his own name, a memorial against Sir Thomas Maitland, written by his brother Viaro ; but the firmness of Sir Thomas having rendered his efforts unavailing, the disaffected construed this refusal into a jealousy of Russian influence, and their animosity soon took a more serious turn.

The island of Santa Maura, being connected with the opposite continent by a long strip of sand, presented on that side an impassable barrier to the mariners of the western coast of Greece, who, when proceeding northwards, were

* Correspondance de Jean, Comte Capodistrias, éditée par son frère.

under the necessity of sailing round the island ; and as the coast of Santa Maura to the westward consists of a bold and forbidding rock, without harbour or cove to put a vessel into in case of distress, this, in bad weather, and to a people who are not fond of braving the rough humours of the briny deep, was felt to be a most unpleasant task. The consequence was, that the country boats either waited patiently at Ithaca, or ran up the inner channel of Santa Maura, until they could proceed on their voyage with tolerable comfort as well as security. To improve the navigation, the mercantile community of Santa Maura solicited the Government to erect a mole, and excavate a small canal which would open a communication between the lagoon and the sea ; and, in order to defray the expenses, offered to submit to a local taxation for that purpose. The peasantry, who are a peculiarly fine and independent race, are also extremely ignorant. The money was to be raised by an additional tax on wine and oil, which had ever been customary in the other islands. The land at Santa Maura is not, however, held by a few large landed proprietors, but is divided into innumerable small freeholds, every peasant having his own piece of ground, which he tills

himself, and on the profits of which he lives. These taxes were, therefore, felt by each individual, and caused a certain feeling of irritation, which was greatly increased by emissaries insinuating that these taxes were only precursors of others, that a tax on doors or windows was intended, one on marriages, births, and deaths, one even on the new-married couples after the first celebration of their marriage rites.* So artfully were these seeds of discord sown, that the senator of the island, M. Zambelli, although residing there at the time, was unaware of it. Without any previous remonstrances the people resisted the levying of taxes with arms, and the British resident was forced to apply to Corfú for assistance. On the 3rd of October, 1819, the peasantry rushed into the town, fired on the British garrison, and set fire to a store. During this time a detachment of troops arrived from Corfú, landed, and drove the people out of the town. The following day, with great forbearance, the Resident, Sir Frederic Stoven, once more tried to conciliate them, but in vain, and was obliged to attack them in the village of Sfachiotis, whence he soon drove them and dis-

* Miscellaneous Parl. Papers respecting Santa Maura, 1821.

persed them. Most of the ringleaders escaped to the Continent.

Accustomed to broils for years, it was difficult to make them understand that they had committed a serious violation of the laws, and the execution of a few ringleaders, amongst whom was a priest, although it successfully awed them, at the same time aroused their sympathies in favour of men whom they viewed in the light of martyrs. These riots were, consequently, soon followed by a conspiracy of a much deeper nature at Zante, although, happily, it had no disastrous results. The passing of an Act for the sequestration of church property was seized upon by a Zantiot, named Martenengo, a man of much power in the island, to stir the people into insurrection. The Protopapa, who had exerted himself to remove the false impression existing against the Government, was to be assassinated, and the island fired from one end to the other. Having successfully fomented a popular commotion vexatious to the Government, this factious demagogue wrote to the Lord High Commissioner, offering that if he were made a senator he would use all his power and influence to restore tranquillity. His offer being

rejected with the contempt it merited, his next endeavour was to ripen his insurrection into reality ; but he succeeded no further than to cause a few persons to pelt with stones a priest who was sent to announce the arrival of the Protopapa. Martenengo was arrested, and put on his trial for high treason. He refused to plead, and was condemned to twelve years' imprisonment in a fortress. The sentence was, however, mitigated into that of three years' banishment from the islands. This trial took place on the 12th of February, 1821, and the 4th of April following witnessed the breaking out of the Greek revolution, which afforded a new and ample topic for the murmurings of the discontented.

The Ionian Government had a most difficult task to perform. On the one hand, their private feelings caused them to sympathize with a people who were risking their all to preserve the freedom which they were enjoying ; on the other hand, as a friendly and independent State, they were bound to recognize the right of the Porte to put down a rebellion in its own territories. On the 7th of June, therefore, a proclamation of the strictest neutrality was published ; but notwithstanding

this, the youth of the islands, and especially of Cephalaria, took up the cause with enthusiasm. This was to be expected ; but, unfortunately, they forgot their position, and, instead of joining the Greeks simply as Philhellenes, they gave out that they had been sent by the British Government, and adopted the English uniform. Deriving encouragement from the idea that their acts passed unnoticed, they brought themselves most unnecessarily into view by a summons which they sent to the Lallioties, against whom they were engaged, worded as follows :—

“ From us, Chiefs of the Cepharonians and Zantioties, to you, the noble Agas, and remaining Chiefs of the Lallioties.

“ According to the orders of the Grand General of the Greeks, Alexander Ypsilanti, who has conquered the whole of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Constantinople, and the other parts of the Levant, we present ourselves here in the Morea, charged to offer you peace by treaty, such as the laws of Europe prescribe ; and we are even accompanied by one of his relatives. If you oppose this treaty, we are ready to give every succour and protection to your enemies the Moraites ; so that they may destroy you with fire and sword : and for such purpose we

are here, a thousand in number ; with all the necessaries of war, and six cannon, &c.

“From our Head-Quarters, June 1st, 1824.

(Signed) “MICHEL IPSILANTI, Constantinopolitan.

C. METAXA. VANGELI PANA.

J. FOCCA. DIONYSIO SEMBRICO.

ANDREA METAXA. PANAGIOTTI STRUSA.

“MATEA CONTUFA,

Interpreter and Secretary.”

This document was forwarded by the Lalliotés to Yúsuf Pashá, at the Castles of the Morea, and he sent it on at once to Corfú. The Government was now obliged to take a decisive step in the matter : it therefore published a proclamation, ordering the whole of the Ionians engaged in the Greek cause to return forthwith to their country ; and summoned the chiefs to return within a fortnight to be tried for the offence, on pain of perpetual banishment and confiscation of property. The order not being complied with, the sentence was carried into effect against them all ; and, at the same time, two captains of Cephalonian ships, who had joined the cause with British colours, were declared pirates.

The Ionians, generally, were much incensed

at these acts of the Government ; but, unfortunately for themselves, the natural lawlessness of the people broke out in such unwarrantable acts of cruelty, that the public opinion was soon turned against them. About the end of August, Napoli di Malvasia capitulated to Prince Cantacuzeno ; and its inhabitants stipulated that they should be conveyed to the nearest Turkish port. As there were then no means of doing so, permission was obtained to allow them to remain at Cerigo, until they could be sent on to Crete. Some had already arrived there ; and, on a Saturday afternoon, a boat, containing forty-one others, of whom but seven were men, reached the island ; and immediately dispatched a messenger to the governor, requesting leave to land.

The inhabitants were then diverting themselves at a *festa*, and, seeing the Turkish messenger, detained him to hear his history. In that short time, a plot was laid to murder the whole party. The messenger was detained altogether, and a fictitious order sent down to disembark the prisoners. It was now growing dark, and the Turks, suspecting treachery, were with great difficulty prevailed upon to land. Leading their victims among some rocks, they fired

upon the unfortunate men ; for, adding cowardice to barbarity, they were afraid of the consequences of coming to close quarters with even seven unarmed men driven to desperation. The women were then ravished without exception, murdered, and thrown into the sea. It is in vain to suppose that any palliation can be offered for such cold-blooded villany, or that any of the inhabitants of Cerigo could excuse themselves from a participation in the foul deed : for, so prevalent was the general feeling, that, for three days, the massacre remained concealed from the knowledge of the Resident ; and it was then only accidentally discovered by the conversation of some women. A party of the garrison was sent down to the spot, where the ground was found already ploughed up ; and patches of hair, stained of divers colours, as is customary with the Turkish women, lay strewn about from the scene of massacre as far as the beach. If there had been an opposition made to the discovery of the guilt, there was still more so to that of the guilty, and five only were executed ; one of whom was proved to have ravished a very young girl and stabbed her immediately afterwards.

Not to be behindhand, the peasantry of

Zante, about the same time, on a Turkish brig-of-war being driven on shore by the insurgent fleet, assembled in great numbers with hostile purposes. An officer's party was at once sent to conduct the Turks to the Lazaretto, and enforce the quarantine laws ; but it found itself opposed by the peasantry. The officer ordered his men to fire over the people's heads, in order to intimidate them ; but he was immediately answered by a discharge, wounding the officer himself, and killing one of his men : he had no alternative but to retire ; leaving the body of the soldier to the Greeks, who, as soon as they obtained possession of it, mangled it in every way, and transfixed the head to the ground with his own bayonet. Zante was at once placed under martial law ; the ringleaders were executed ; and Sir Frederick Adam, who was then acting for the Lord High Commissioner, with great judgment seized the occasion to order the disarming of the entire peasantry of the islands : and, though this was carried into effect when they were in the highest degree disaffected, it was done with so much temperance, that no resistance was offered. It is from this measure that dates the decided improvement of the peasantry ; for, when every

man went to their festivals armed with gun and dagger, it was but natural to suppose they would be used in every broil, and the consequences were murders of daily occurrence, from which arose long-standing family feuds.*

The neutrality, although occasionally violated by the belligerents, was strictly observed by the Ionian Government, until the blockade at Patras, in 1824 ; when the national character which it presented, from the number of armed vessels, justified the islands in issuing a proclamation, dated November 17th, enjoining that the blockade should be respected by all vessels under the Ionian flag. This deviation from the rule which had been laid down, had, however, only the effect of rendering the Provisional Greek Government more arrogant ; and, in the month of June following, becoming alarmed at the serious aspect of their own affairs, and indignant at seeing a number of European flags among the transports of the Turkish fleets, they issued, from the Mills of Nauplia, an edict dated 8th of June, ordering their cruisers to burn and sink, with their ships' companies, all the European vessels which they should find so

* Visit to Greece, by G. Waddington. Goodisson, Ionian Islands.

employed. This edict was too piratical to pass unnoticed ; and the British Admiral at once remonstrated against it, but his representations received no attention. It was, therefore, thought necessary to adopt stronger measures ; and, accordingly, on the 6th of September, a proclamation was issued from Corfú, notifying that, in consequence of the refusal of the Provisional Greek Government to reconsider their edict, the English Admiral had been directed by the British Government to seize and detain all Greek armed vessels. This had the desired effect ; and a fresh edict from Nauplia decreed that all Greek privateers should furnish themselves with commissions from their Government, and that all ships under European flags, not carrying troops, had the privileges of neutrality.*

Disturbed as the public mind was by these constant broils, Sir Thomas never for a moment lost sight of those internal improvements which he had determined to carry out on his first arrival. He had then found a peasantry ground down by the usurious loans of their landlords, judges openly bribed, and a treasury

* Leake's Greek Revolution. Quarterly Rev. No. 58.

containing but three obolis.* Soon after the assembling of the first Legislative Assembly, the mortgages were converted into simple contract debts, and the system of advances from landlord to tenant was discontinued ; by these measures the peasantry were released from the bondage in which they were held by their Signori, a great blow was struck at the wholesale system of perjury which was at the disposal of the landlords, while the higher classes had no longer the command of courts of justice. To free the courts of law from any indirect influence, he kept the executive, the legislative, and judicial authorities distinct from one another ; and, to correct party decisions, he established at Corfú a Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of two British and two Ionian judges ; to whom an appeal might lie from the several local jurisdictions.†

The necessity of defraying the whole of the military expenses incurred in the islands, with a revenue barely equal even to the payment of the troops,‡ the number of which was limited

* Turner's Tour in the Levant. Napier's Ionian Islands.

† Constitution, ch. vi. Quar. Rev. No. 57.

‡ Goodisson's Ionian Islands. The actual expenditure of the British forces in the Ionian Islands, in 1821, was £105,000 ; the revenue was £110,000.

by the Treaty of Paris, rendered it the first care of Sir Thomas to obtain permission from the British Government that the islands should, for the time being, be liable only to the expenses of lodging the troops. Having obtained this, he took especial care that no money should be laid out on the fortifications, and sought how to increase the revenue without burdening the people. The value of the olive-oil had increased so much since the Venetian monopoly had been done away with, that, in 1817, he found that an extra duty of about half-a-dollar per barrel, upon the exportation of [oil, would be easily borne by the merchants; while, at the same time, it enabled him to do away with eleven vexatious taxes.* The monopoly of corn was then taken into the hands of Government; but, if a few individual corn dealers suffered, the people gained; for the effect was an immediate reduction of twenty per cent. in the price of bread. The measure, however, which excited the strongest sensation, was the wresting of the church revenues from the hands of the admi-

* For about fifteen years previous to 1802, the oil averaged only 7s. 4d. to 8s. 3d. a jar, but in 1802 it rose to about 11s. a jar. In 1834 it rose as high as 15s. a jar.

nistrators. Under the Venetians, the church estates had been bought up or farmed by private individuals, who were making large fortunes by the transaction, without fulfilling the conditions of their contract. Sir Thomas determined to take them out of their hands, although the transaction was at once denounced as sacrilegious ; for the administrators endeavoured to misrepresent the matter among the peasantry, and it was insinuated that the Government not only intended to appropriate the church revenues, but also to overturn the established religion.

The consequence of these wise measures was, that he was enabled to give handsomer salaries to all Government *employés*, thereby doing away with the temptations for bribery which had grown there into a system ; that roads were cut throughout the islands, the town of Corfú was beautified, a mole and aqueduct were carried on at Zante, the churches repaired, the public credit was restored : and yet, on the 31st of January, 1823, there was a surplus revenue of 117,357 Spanish dollars, making, with those of former years, a total surplus in the treasury of 600,000 dollars.

On the 17th of January, 1824, Sir Thomas

Maitland expired of an apoplectic stroke, at Malta. Few Ionian governors have had more enemies, or more scurrilous abuse; but if, in the country and villages, an increase of cultivation, comfort, and population is perceived; if there is a great diminution of crime; if the people are rapidly progressing in wealth, morality, and civilization; we may be at least assured that these are not the consequences of misgovernment.*

On the death of Sir Thomas Maitland, the Ionian Islands were separated from the governorship of Malta; and Major-General Sir Frederick Adam, who had long served at Corfú under the late Lord High Commissioner, was appointed to succeed him. Unfortunately, when called upon to undertake the government, he allowed himself to be influenced by such of the native gentry as had made his acquaintance when filling a subordinate office, and was led to consume his time in petty pompous ceremonies. The consequence of this mistaken course soon became apparent: the improvement of the peasantry was lost sight of, and the laws were not enforced in all their vigour against the upper

* Visit to Greece, by G. Waddington.

classes. Enormous sums also were expended upon beautifying the island of Corfú, to the prejudice of the others, which excited much dissatisfaction amongst them ; whilst a disproportionate part of the revenue was apportioned to defray the expenses of putting the fortifications of Corfú into complete repair ; for which purpose, in 1828, it was agreed to contribute £20,000 yearly, and to maintain a company of sappers for this object, besides paying the lodging of the troops. Sir Frederick, however, conferred the greatest benefit on the town of Corfú which it had ever enjoyed, by insuring to it a plentiful supply of fresh water. Previously to this improvement, it had to be brought a distance of three miles from the stream of Potamo, a fact which, in a southern climate, speaks volumes for the want of energy or cleanliness in the people.*

He was succeeded by Lord Nugent, a nobleman who had acquired much experience in the House of Commons. His chief attention was directed to the further improvement of the courts of justice. With this view, it was enacted

* Napier's Ionian Islands. Report on Ordnance Expenditure, 1850.

that, after a space of two years, no man should be tried for his life in the Italian language ; and no judge was allowed to preside at a court in his native island. Finding that the pension fund was lying useless in the treasury, his lordship caused it to be lent to the needy farmers, at six per cent. ; by which means they were freed from the usurious loans of their landlords, who not only advanced money at fifteen or twenty per cent., but frequently defrauded them in the repayment. The schools were protected, and the islanders were encouraged, by every means, to follow an industrious course ; whilst, finding that the State was totally unable to pay the contributions required from it, both for military works and the maintenance of the troops, Lord Nugent obtained the sanction of the English Government, in 1834, that they should be united in one sum of £35,000 a-year.* But all his endeavours for the public welfare could not shelter him from the abuse and slanders of those who felt the irksomeness of a government which inculcated the supremacy of the law. This ill-feeling at last broke out into a serious difference between the

* Martin's Brit. Colon.

members of the Legislative Assembly and Lord Nugent's successor, Major-General Sir Howard Douglas.

By one of the articles of the Constitution, it had been declared, that a temporary court of justice should be established and maintained till such times as a new code of civil and criminal law and procedure could be framed and adopted ; further, that the Legislative Assembly should have the immediate consideration of the enactments for the final adjustment of the said courts of law, whenever a message to that effect should be delivered by the Lord High Commissioner ; and that this new code, if ratified by the protecting sovereign, should be considered, to all intents and purposes, as forming an integral part of the Constitution. The Legislative Assembly which sat in 1839, having agreed upon this code, refused to allow it to be discussed by the Senate, owing to no mention of the Senate having been made in that particular article of the Constitution. Upon that objection having been stated by Sir Howard to the Secretary of State in England, the latter took the opinion of the law officers of the Crown ; and their interpretation of the original contract was, that the Senate must concur with the Assembly

in agreeing to such laws. If the Assembly had considered at first that their objection was valid, they knew also that the consent of the protecting sovereign to the new code was necessary, and ought, therefore, to have been aware that, when the Crown objected to a ratification without the previous concurrence of the Senate, this latter body was understood to have been included in the disputed article, in virtue of its essential character as a select portion of the Assembly. But the opinion of the protecting sovereign was considered of little importance ; the Assembly would not admit of the concurrence of the Senate : and the Lord High Commissioner proposed to receive the consent of her Majesty in council to dissolve the Assembly. After much correspondence, that consent was given ; the Assembly was dissolved, and a new one called, which concurred with the Senate.*

The Assembly meeting but once in two years and then for not more than some thirty business days, the course of business was always left unfinished, and nearly all its time, on re-assembling, was taken up with recovering the thread

* Mirror of Parliament, Sess. 1840, June 23rd.

of affairs. Besides, the public revenue of the Ionian States, being derived solely from the exported produce of the land, is precarious, and varies annually ; whilst the Assembly, being obliged to sanction the civil list for two years, could not foresee, or regulate, or proportion it to the financial wants of the State.* Having, however, so much the semblance of a free constitution, it inevitably excited the desires of many of the better educated of the community for the more full enjoyment of those institutions as they are known to be practically in force in other States possessing a representative government ; but the successive clamours and intrigues of revolutionary zealots, or disappointed placemen, so embarrassed the government of every Lord High Commissioner, that they were alarmed lest, by granting greater freedom, a spirit of anarchy should prevail. Yet Sir Thomas Maitland had intended to fulfil the hopes which the charter infallibly tended to encourage, whenever by the general diffusion of knowledge, and by the acquired habits of conducting public affairs, the Ionian people should have become capable of sustaining the arduous duties and responsi-

* Parl. Papers, June 22nd, 1840. Mustoxidi's Memorial.

bilities connected with the administration of a popular form of government.*

* Letter of Lord John Russell to Sir Howard Douglas. Parl. Papers, 1840.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY in 1848, owing to the tranquillity which prevailed throughout the islands, Lord Seaton, the Lord High Commissioner, was induced to believe he would be justified in proposing certain changes in the constitution of 1817. He recommended the Home Government to give entire freedom to the press, to vest the control over the extraordinary expenditure of the country in the Legislative Assembly, to extend the suffrage, and that the electoral system should be perfectly free from any government interference.*

In order to judge fairly the policy of this Ionian Reform Bill, we must take into consideration the man who proposed it, and the time in which the proposal was made. Lord Seaton had long established a character for cool courage

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1850.

on many a hard-fought field, and had won his peerage by the ability he had displayed in putting down an extensive rebellion in Canada with but little bloodshed. He was, therefore, not to be alarmed by any prognostications of the dangers to be encountered by the rantings of a press let loose from government surveillance, or a Legislative Assembly representing the free opinions of the mass, when this mass, counting at the best but 220,000 men, women, and children, had to thank Great Britain for all the political, and most of the social advantages they were enjoying. It was also the year 1848. Europe had been seized with a republican fever. The King of France had been expelled his throne ; Berlin had been in the hands of the mob ; Austria was shaken to its foundation ; the whole of Italy was in arms ; Ireland was distracted by famine and rebellion ; and Greek and Russian agents were strenuously advocating Pan-Hellenism.

Lord Seaton, who had seen in Canada how easily ill-feeling could be averted by a timely concession to the wishes of the people, thought that the reforms he proposed in the Ionian constitution would render the Ionians more attached to British protection. On Sept. 26th,

1848, a ramification of the republican fraternities which had diffused themselves throughout Europe, induced some of the Cephalonian villagers to attack in broad daylight the towns of Argostoli and Lixuri. They were at once repulsed by the few men on guard. Nine of the ringleaders were confined for trial on a charge of high treason, and four demagogues were banished for abusing the freedom of the press. Tranquillity was at once restored, and Lord Seaton's policy had so far conciliated the islands, that in April, 1849, the President of the Legislative Assembly, in reply to the Address, after thanking Lord Seaton for the changes in the constitution, said, "It is deeply to be deplored, that the proceedings of a few misguided individuals should have been able, in however small a degree, to disturb public tranquillity in one of the larger islands of the State, to the indignation of the inhabitants in general. All, however, are convinced that the strict and firm execution of the laws, and the power of the protecting Government, will maintain internal security sacred and inviolate."*

Unfortunately, Lord Seaton ceased to watch

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1850.

over those reforms which he had obtained for the Ionian people ; for in order to have ensured their successful working, it required not only a firm hand, but an intimate acquaintance with the various political parties in the main land as well as in the islands. In the beginning of 1849 Lord Seaton was succeeded by Sir Henry Ward. That gentleman, in the hopes of obtaining popularity, gave a complete amnesty to those who had been banished, to those who were awaiting trial for the riots in Cephalonia, and to Ionians of all denominations who had taken refuge in Greece. In fact, he pardoned, as rebels, those whom he should have punished as ruffians, and consequently was, before long, taught the practical difference between the Ionian, endowed with all the benefits of a most liberal constitution, creating disturbances from an utter disregard to the well-being of society, and the rising of the Italians or Hungarians, writhing under a tyranny which could not be borne. The press, which, to a certain extent, had already covertly advocated a union with Greece, threw off all restraint, and did so openly, whilst speaking of the Lord High Commissioner and of the protective power in terms of the most scurrilous abuse. Riots again broke out in

Cephalonia, and in August, 1849, some of the native gentry, living in the more remote districts, were murdered under circumstances of the greatest atrocity, by peasants instigated by some of the demagogues of the Greek faction.

As usual, it was stated to be a rebellion against the English Government, and martial law was at once proclaimed. But on the Lord High Commissioner proceeding to the spot, although he was himself fired upon, he was forced to admit, "that the only body of men known to be in arms against the government, was a gang of robbers and assassins, whom it was impossible to dignify by the name of insurgents." They were accordingly delivered over to the gibbet and the triangles.* But if these men were punished according to their merits, Sir Henry Ward again committed a fatal mistake in not bringing to trial the instigators of these horrid scenes. In his dispatches he gave as the reason for so acting, that though convinced of the guilt of the parties in question, he was afraid there was not sufficient legal proof for conviction. But, after a careful perusal of the documents, it must be

* Papers respecting Cephalonia, 1850.

admitted, that two demagogues in Cephalonia were distinctly accused by the leaders of the brigands as accomplices, and that these accusations were made, in consequence of the accusers considering they had been led on by these demagogues and then deserted.* The effect produced on the islands by Sir Henry Ward's lenity, was only further to encourage the disaffected.

The first Parliament which met in 1850, returned every demagogue of note ;—journalists, whom Lord Seaton had banished for the most flagrant libels ; men, whom the brigands of Cephalonia had claimed as accomplices, some indeed without a farthing of private means and ready for the most desperate acts.† Sir Henry Ward, who in England had been prominent as a liberal member of the House of Commons, who had proceeded to the Ionian Islands, determined to carry out a spirit of conciliation and a most liberal government, could not but see that the proceedings of the Ionian Legislature were fraught with danger to the cause of liberalism throughout Europe. Their sittings took place in a spacious hall, formerly used as a church,

* Papers respecting Cephalonia, 1850.

† Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1852.

in which forty-two legislators were surrounded by hundreds of spectators of the lowest character, who expressed their own sentiments most unreservedly by applauses or hisses. The mob, consisting of Ionians, Greeks, Albanians, and refugees of all nations, cheered vociferously when a speaker denounced the Lord High Commissioner in the coarsest of terms and called upon them to do justice to the heroes of Cephalonia, or when another, after abusing the perfidy of England, demanded a union with Greece.

On the 7th April, 1850, Sir Henry Ward, in a dispatch to Earl Grey, thus describes these proceedings :—

“It is necessary that I should bring before your Lordship, in some detail, the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of these States ; because, from the spirit hitherto evinced by that body,—the avowed designs of some of its members,—the weakness of others,—and the perpetual vacillations of all,—I cannot reckon from one day to the other upon what may occur there, and may find myself, when I least expect it, compelled to stop, by a prorogation, some revolutionary measure in direct violation of the constitution ; although, as a prorogation ought to be followed by a dissolution, and as a

dissolution, without a change in public opinion, would not secure to me a better Parliament, and might, possibly, give me a worse, your Lordship may rely upon it that the remedy is one to which nothing but absolute necessity will drive me.

“The cause of all my difficulties in the present Assembly is the return, as deputies for Cephalonia, of six of the most violent men that that island has ever produced. The list comprises Signor Montferrato, whom I exiled to Fanò during the insurrection, in which he was proved to have tampered so largely ; Signori Zervò and Livadà, banished to Paxò by Lord Seaton, and recalled by me, somewhat too hastily, for within three weeks I was forced to banish Dr. Zervò again ; Signori Pillarinò, Cappelletto, and Tupaldo Giacomato, the last of whom is a naturalized Greek subject, residing at Patras, where he has considerable property ; while Mr. Cappelletto practises as a barrister at Athens, and is supposed to have recommended himself to the favour of the Cephallonian radical clubs by having acted for a long time as their secret agent. These six men, with two of the deputies of Santa Maura, and two others from the smaller islands, form a

body formidable from its union, its violence, and, above all, its command over the press. They call themselves the 'Inexorables;' the party opposed to all conciliation and all compromise, not only with the present government, but with any government not of a purely republican form; for though nominally 'Greek unionists, and appealing to Greek sympathies, in order to act upon the moderate party in the Assembly and on public feeling out of doors, the Greece they look to is a Greek Republic, upon which they are to be at liberty to engraft the socialist theories derived from their Parisian education, with the sole condition that, in whatever happens, they are themselves to play the principal part. Not one of these men has a shilling in the world: fed upon the histories of Lamartine and Thiers,—familiar with all the strange vicissitudes of European revolutionary life,—having everything to hope, and nothing to fear, from change,—their sole object is to make government impossible under the existing system, and to arrogate to themselves the powers of a constituent, or national, assembly,—governing by 'Resolutions,' passed under the eyes and through the direct aid of a mob, which takes open part in the debates, hissing or

applauding the speakers, as their sentiments happen to please or displease the gallery, and generally regarding patriotism and extravagance as synonymous terms. Your Lordship will perceive that I was forced to allude to this scandalous practice in my speech ; and the silence with which the reproof was listened to, by a gallery containing six or seven hundred spectators, proves how easily the abuse might be put a stop to."

Sitting after sitting only still further convinced Sir Henry Ward that Constitutions were not matters to be lightly dealt with, and on the 21st April he again writes to Earl Grey : "Every day convinces me more that we have already conferred upon this people an amount of liberty for which they were wholly unfitted, and that this liberty will be the source of great calamities unless time and experience correct the evils which it has already produced."* Neither could Sir Henry find any desire, on the part of the better portion of the community, for a union with Greece. The men of property, the men of business, the men who had a stake in the well-being and social progress

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1852.

of the islands, were unrepresented. "Your Lordship," added he to Earl Grey, "may believe me when I assure you that, in every island those who have anything to lose, are looking to the future with the deepest anxiety, seeing too clearly that with the men who now take the lead, broken in fortune, disreputable in character, and utterly wanting, as they are, in business habits and common sense ; a change of government means simply a change of property, to be arrived at, if necessary, by the disorganization of society itself. They know that in Albania and Greece thousands of hungry adventurers are ready to aid in the work of plunder ; and rather than submit to this fate, my belief is, that if the British flag were withdrawn, before six months were over the larger islands would place themselves under the protection of Russia, as the only remedy for the evils entailed upon them by a union with Greece."*

Sir Henry Ward having displayed the utmost temper and patience, was finally forced to prorogue this Parliament. The members had only succeeded in making themselves ridiculous,

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1852.

and the Assembly was broken up amidst hisses from the spectators, pretty equally divided between the government and its opponents, whose discomfiture seemed to excite more amusement than indignation.* The recess was taken up in weeding out this extreme revolutionary party. Four were banished for what Sir John Pakington afterwards described "as most gross and disgusting libels, directed against all that in this country men most revere, respect, and honour;" a fifth lost his seat from its having been found he was a naturalised Greek subject since 1841; and during the remainder of Sir Henry's government matters went on more smoothly, not however without a surmise, that the Greek Government had been informed, that a certain degree of unpleasantness might arise if it were found tampering with the Ionian Islands.

In 1855, Sir Henry Ward was relieved by Sir John Young, and in the course of 1858 the Cabinets of Europe were surprised at hearing that an English Lord High Commissioner, wearied with the petty vexations of Ionian administration, had advocated the cession of

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1852.

six of the islands to Greece, and the conversion of Corfú into a British colony.* Europe naturally inquired whether Great Britain had forgotten the nature of the important trust reposed in her in this matter. The Ionian Islands had not been placed under the protection of England merely to add to British power, or please the Ionians. But all Europe had felt the necessity of placing positions so important in the hands of that nation which had the least incentive to use them to the detriment of her neighbours. It was their proximity to the Morea and Albania, and consequently the manner in which they might be made use of against the security and tranquillity of Turkey, that had induced Russia, in 1800, to accede to their being subject to the Porte.† It was the advantage they gave a belligerent power against Austria, Italy, or Turkey, that had induced Napoleon to occupy them in 1798, and get them ceded to him by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807. It was the advantage which Napoleon had derived from their occupation which necessitated their capture by the British forces. In 1815, Austria

* Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands, 1861.

† Treaty of 1800 between Russia and Turkey.

objected to their being given to an Italian sovereign, as it would give him command of both sides of the entrances to the Adriatic. To Russia or Austria it would have been the key for aggressive operations against Turkey. To create a perfectly independent state of them was impossible, as they would have been utterly unable to maintain it. England alone could occupy such a post without being led into quarrels arising from neighbouring territorial disputes or religious hatred, and to England it was confided by the unanimous voice of the Allied Powers. Having accepted the trust, England had for forty years faithfully performed her duty. She had found a people subject to a despotic military power, and had endowed them with a free Constitution. She had found a peasantry ground down by their Signori, and imbued with the grossest ignorance ; she emancipated them from their moral serfdom, promoted instruction in every way, and established a strict observance of the law for high as well as poor. The protection afforded by her flag had brought wealth to their merchants ; and the macadamised roads she had constructed, even into the recesses of the Black Mountain of Cephalonia, had opened the advantages of the

numerous excellent harbours to the farmer's produce. The revenue which in 1849 had increased to £132,904, rose in 1854 to £139,511, in 1856 to £184,646, and in 1858 to £201,276. The exports from the United Kingdom to the Ionian Islands in 1829 had been to the value of £30,465, in 1845 it rose to £209,612, in 1851 to £253,202, in 1858 to £423,903.* Zante, with its admirably cultivated valley; Cephalonia, with its rugged heights turned into terraces of vineyards; Ithaca, with its flourishing Black Sea trade; Santa Maura, with her numerous little freeholds;—such were the fruits of British protection which we were asked to hand over to a government which was unable to protect property public or private.

The British Ministry at once disclaimed all connection with the views expressed by Sir John Young. It was nevertheless necessary to satisfy the people of this country that the political grievances of which the Ionians complained did not exist; and the European Powers that we had not forgotten the obligation imposed upon us by the treaty of 1815.†

* Parl. Papers, Statistical Tables of the Colonial and other possessions of the United Kingdom.

Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1861.

On the 6th November, 1858, Sir John Young was informed that Mr. Gladstone had been appointed "Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary, for the purpose of inquiring into the administration of the Ionian Islands, under the Charter." On the 25th November, 1858, Mr. Gladstone landed at Corfú, where he was received with all the honours due to the important office he was called on to fill, and on the following day a meeting of the Senate was held to enable him to state explicitly to the Ionian people the instructions he had received. "Her Majesty," he said, "ever solicitous of the well-being of the peoples whom she either governs or protects, is earnestly desirous that the inhabitants and subjects of the Ionian State should enjoy in the fullest sense, according to the spirit and opportunities of the time, every advantage which was contemplated on their behalf by the Treaty of Paris in November, 1815.

"Aware that embarrassments have heretofore from time to time beset the action of the institutions established under the treaty, she deigns to seek information through an organ independent of past Ionian politics, as to the causes of those embarrassments, and the best means of removing them.

“ On the one side, the British Protectorate over these Islands ; on the other, the substantive existence of the Ionian State and its title to constitutional government, having their respective roots in the Treaty of Paris, are derived from a source higher than the will of any single State, whether sovereign or subordinate. They form a portion of the public law of Europe. They cannot be infringed or altered by any authority inferior to that from which they flow. It is therefore readily to be understood, alike from the terms of the Commission and from the reason of the case, that my mission avoids every ulterior question that could derogate from the relations in which, by the concert of so many great States, England and the Islands have been reciprocally placed. The liberties guaranteed by the Treaty of Paris and by Ionian law are, in the eyes of Her Majesty, sacred. On the other hand, the purpose for which she has sent me is not to inquire into the British Protectorate, but to examine in what way Great Britain may most honourably and amply discharge the obligations which, for purposes European and Ionian, rather than British, she has contracted.”*

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1861.

During the next few days, Mr. Gladstone remained at Corfú, occupied in holding communication with such persons, in and of the islands, as were most likely, from character, ability, and influence, to afford him the best information in the prosecution of the inquiry with which he had been entrusted. He then proceeded to Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cephalonia, and Zante.

At Cephalonia, the only excitement which was caused by his arrival was the gathering at the entrance of the town of Argostoli, of a mob of some 800 people, more than half of whom were boys, who raised the cry of "Union with Greece," evidently at the instigation of some better dressed persons who moved amongst them. The inhabitants generally, although they appeared at their doors and windows, took no part in the demonstration.

At Zante he was received by a concourse of several thousand people, and the cry for the union with Greece was loud. But at both these islands the mere request of Mr. Gladstone that such expressions should not be repeated, was sufficient to prevent their renewal. He also took the opportunity of his short stay at Zante, to again repeat the distinct assurance he had previously given to the Senate. "Notwithstand-

ing," he said, "my solemn and formal declaration made before the most illustrious the Senate, I find that many persons still believe that in these times, in the present state of Europe, and of the Eastern question, the idea of the union of the Seven Islands, not with the entire Greek race, but with the existing kingdom of Greece, is practicable, and further that such an idea may be more speedily realised by coupling it with my name, and with my supposed Philhellenism. In this idea they are deceived. . . . A superior authority, the English ministry, has declared itself on this subject. A month has not elapsed since the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs sent to all the English representatives a circular dispatch, directing them to inform those Courts that England recognizes her duties under the Treaty of Paris, and has never had either the intention or the desire to renounce them."

The results of Mr. Gladstone's inquiries into the political condition of the islands are summed up in his dispatches of January 13th, 1858, and February 8th, 1859.

"The upper class has in these islands been accustomed to leave and to throw all responsibility on the British Government. The dema-

gogues have been accustomed to the enjoyment of salaries by popular election, which, though in England they would appear small, even for the small work performed, are considerable here. A larger official class, relatively to the population, than in any country in Europe, strong in inveterate usage, and in the ramifications of family throughout Ionian society, may not perhaps be liable to very severe reproach if they do not positively aid an attempt to convert public office among Ionians from a property into a trust. These classes taken together have a determining influence. With them are joined the clergy ; but of these the greater part are, I think, passively more than actively engaged. On the other side are many able and sensible men in the higher offices, the educated professions, and the proprietary class ; but they are individuals without organization, and discouraged by former failures and by prevalent mistrust.

* * * *

“It is not necessary that I should enter largely, in this place, on a description of the state of political feeling in the islands, inasmuch as the knowledge I have gathered is best represented in the report which I have recently had the

honour of sending home for presentation to Her Majesty. I may endeavour, however, to sum it up in few words. A certain effervescence prevails on the subject of union with Greece. The vehicle is afforded by words and ideas that national feeling has prompted; but the real stimulants are also to be found in heat of imagination, in fear of popular displeasure, in ambition, which find in this subject a ready instrument, and in the self-interest of some who are in possession of salary and power, and who, apprehensive of the consequences of legal and constitutional reform to themselves, both urge the people to extremes, and then exaggerate the excess they have contributed to bring about. If ever again, which God forbid, blood is shed in these islands, in connection with a political cause, it will probably, so far as I can venture to judge, be owing to the underground proceedings of the last-mentioned class more than to any other cause.

“While, however, on the outer surface little is to be seen but the desire for union, and while an analysis of motives exhibits, as contributing to the utterance of that desire, so many incongruous and conflicting elements, I must add that I have found in all quarters a body of

intelligent opinion, indifferent or even averse to immediate union with Greece, but warmly enlisted in favour of attempts to establish constitutional government. The success or failure of any reasonable and sufficient measure of change will mainly depend upon the degree in which this intelligent and undoubtedly sincere opinion is backed by a corresponding moral courage ; of which I am bound to say, up to the present time, there have not been wanting some satisfactory examples." *

In accordance with the views of this intelligent opinion, Mr. Gladstone proposed to the Ionian Legislature certain additional reforms to their Constitution which he considered would finally place the Ionian Parliament on a footing with the freest deliberative assembly in the world. The Civil Government of the Ionian State was henceforward to consist of a Presidency, a Parliament, comprising a Legislative Senate and a Legislative Assembly ; a President and Council of Ministers. The Lord High Commissioner was to appoint and remove the Ministers ; they were to hold office during pleasure only ; and he was bound to remove them on a

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1861.

joint address to that effect from the two Chambers. With the exception of such heads as Her Majesty should by Order in Council, within a time to be limited, declare to be requisite for the discharge of her office as protecting Sovereign, all acts in which the Lord High Commissioner then had sole authority were to bear the counter-signature of a responsible Minister ; and all acts in which he had then an authority concurrent with the Senate were to be done without his intervention, by the Council of Ministers, or a member thereof. Relegation under the powers of High Police was henceforward to be illegal. If at any time it should become necessary that an exceptional state of law be established, it was not to continue after order had been restored. Where either Legislative Chamber should pray Her Majesty to grant a judicial hearing of any complaint against the Lord High Commissioner for grave malversation in the exercise of his office, said Chamber should have the right to send an agent to England to support such petition, and, of its own authority, to order payment of its reasonable charges. The Senate, divested wholly of its initiative and executive powers, was simply to have a veto upon all

bills for granting a civil list or budget, and for raising taxes, and a concurrent authority with the Assembly in regard to all other bills.

The majority of the Senate was to be elected, for a lengthened term, by a special constituency ; and the minor part was to be nominated by the Lord High Commissioner, for the same term, with the concurrence of the Ministry, from among persons qualified in a manner to be determined.

The Assembly was to have the exclusive power to impose taxes, and authorize public expenditure. Except as therein provided, no tax was hereafter to be imposed, and no outlay of public money authorized, otherwise than upon the proposal of the Executive Government, and to an amount not exceeding such proposal.

The Assembly was, however, in no mood to discuss such proposals. Although aware of what would probably be submitted to it, the Assembly had, on the 20th January, adopted a petition to Her Majesty praying for a union with Greece. Nothing, therefore, could have been less gratifying to it than these proposals of Mr. Gladstone, for they did not leave one political difference for the people to complain of. They were consequently thus described in the Press of the day :—

“ We have been positively informed that the Lord High Commissioner is about to propose forthwith the reforms which are so much talked of. This news, so abominable and so fatal to the interests of our country and nation, fills with shuddering and trembling this much-suffering people, which certainly does no man the injustice of considering him so insensible and indifferent to the dangers of his fatherland, and so morally degraded, as to accept the deadly gifts of the protection which desires to force the Septinsular people into an acknowledgment of treaties imposed on it, and so to become the victim and prey of the will of the stronger. The people of the Seven Islands, however, fears lest, by evil fortune, the representatives of the eleventh Parliament, though rejecting in appearance the reforms, may accept and embrace them in some indirect way, when the Great Powers shall have decided negatively upon the national question. Our country has never placed the national sentiment under this limit, neither has it ever given such a warrant to its representatives.” *

The representatives of the eleventh Parlia-

* The “*Πήγος*,” Zante newspaper, Feb. 5, 1859.

ment, however, rejected the reforms, and came to the conclusion that an Assembly which had pronounced the words, "Union with Greece," should not permit any less sacred name to pass its lips. But Her Majesty, sensible that such a union would be only disastrous to the Ionians, refused to submit the petition of the Legislative Assembly to the Powers of Europe, and Mr. Gladstone was commanded to make the following reply known without loss of time, and in the most solemn manner, to the Legislative Assembly, and to the Ionian people, in order that both the one and the other might fully and clearly comprehend their actual position :—

" 1. Her Majesty has taken into Her gracious consideration the prayer of the petition of the Legislative Assembly of the Ionian Islands, with reference to the interests of the islands themselves, of the States in their neighbourhood, and of the general peace.

" 2. Having regard to these objects, Her Majesty, invested by the Treaty of Paris with the exclusive protectorate of the Ionian State, and constituted the sole organ of that State in the councils of Europe, can neither consent to abandon the obligations She has undertaken, nor can convey,

nor permit any application to any other power in furtherance of any similar design.

“ 3. Her Majesty does not desire to impose new fetters on opinion, but She will enforce, wherever it is placed in Her charge, the sacred duty of obedience to the laws.

“ 4. Her Majesty has adopted, on Her part, the measures which She deems most conducive to the good of the Ionian people, and She awaits the enlightened co-operation of their Parliament.”

No people have, perhaps, been more surprised at this desire to be united with Greece, expressed by the Ionians, than the Greeks themselves.

“ Mine honorable friend,” wrote Panajotti Soutzo, an intelligent Greek gentleman, in 1851, “ I write to you from Zante, which I reached a week ago. My object is to give you an account of an election to the municipal council of Zante, which, as you are aware, administers the local affairs of this island, conjointly with the Regent.

“ There is not a citizen here but wishes the independence and union of the Seven Islands with Greece. Some of them, however, seeing that we have no moral or physical capability of governing ourselves ; discouraged by the ban-

ditti which desolate our country ; and struck with the symptoms of dissolution and anarchy which are breaking out in all directions, are endeavouring to gain time : the others, on the contrary, influenced rather by the desire of independence than by that of their country's welfare, and feeling persuaded that Providence will not abandon Greece, throw their whole weight into the union of the islands with the mother country. These latter denominate themselves radicals ; publicly call for the expulsion of the English, and, for the sake of their cause, courageously dare the hatred of the authorities.

“ Three citizens forming part of this latter class, MM. John Lisgara, George Crenderopulo, and Demetrius Macri, lately presented themselves as candidates at the municipal election and obtained the majority of votes.

“ *The British Government violated the law neither directly nor indirectly ; it had recourse to no kind whatsoever of corruption.* If, in the INDEPENDENT kingdom of Greece, a candidate for the House of Assembly had declared himself opposed, not alone to the House of Bavaria, but simply against the meanest of the ministry, what effusion of blood would have arisen ! what falsifications of bulletins ! what frauds !

“ And yet it is said that we have a constitutional government ! and we are proclaimed as unworthy of a representative system !

“ Yesterday I made a long excursion into the country. What a delightful sight ! Everywhere vineyards, orchards, golden harvests, cattle grazing, magnificent roads, villages full of prosperity.

“ What security ! what inviolable respect for property, both from those governing and those governed !

“ When contemplating the happiness of the Zantiots, and comparing it with the misery of us independent Greeks, I wept with grief.

“ Unfortunate that we are ! It is now nineteen years since royalty has been established amongst us, and we have security neither for money nor for property. Here you can proceed, loaded with gold, from one end of the island to the other, without the least fear. At home, we cannot, without the greatest danger, go even from Athens to Kiphissia.

“ Here, what roads ! what joyous hamlets ! the children play, the women work peaceably within their dwellings, fearless of either the movable columns of official bandits, or of the bands of brigands.

“Do the Zantiots purchase so great a security by heavy taxes ?

“In no ways. In the Ionian Islands, no tithe, no internal taxes ; but simple duties on importations and exportations.

“Such is the state of the ENSLAVED Zantiots ;* and such is that of us Greeks, said to be free ; men who have poured torrents of their blood and piled up heaps of their bones to reconquer independence.

“Panajotti Soutzo has lived to envy servitude. . . . Shame, a thousand times, shame, on the system which reigns in Greece.

“After having spent a loan of sixty millions, with four hundred millions of taxation, we have neither harbour, bridge, nor road ; we are a

* What a contrast is this with the state of Zante in 1790, as described by a man who had no interest in the matter : “By what I could learn from the traders, and a few other people to whom I had an opportunity of speaking, the police is really shocking. The governors are generally needy men, but, by accepting fines as a remission for murder, they are soon enriched, perhaps by the ruin of the widow and orphan. Is your husband assassinated, your father murdered ? Dry up your tears—your governor is three guineas richer. Do you remonstrate ? For three guineas more you may let loose all the demons of revenge. Thus one murder produces another ; whole families are involved in destruction, or at least live in perpetual alarms ; justice never interferes, and society is of course destroyed.”—*Tour from Gibraltar to Constantinople, by Captain Sutherland*, p. 132.

prey to robbery, assailed by pirates, infested with a thousand diseases ; and, far from enjoying liberty, we are bowed down under the vilest slavery !

“ If you think it desirable, publish these lines ; perhaps they will do some good, being from a man who is no partizan either of France, England, or Russia.

“ We have never been in so deplorable a state. Greece is at an end, if we do not endeavour to save her. Let her be the symbol of some amongst us ! Let her become the aim of our efforts during life ! As for me, I will not cease to proclaim the truth, so long as I shall not see my country free and happy, under the ægis of royalty relying upon intelligence and virtue.

“ If the last drop of my blood could contribute to raise my native land, I would give it with pleasure.”

In 1858 the social condition of Greece was, if anything, worse than in 1851. Diplomats and travellers of every nation all agreed that Greece was one vast mass of corruption. A king, who ought to have ruled constitutionally, ruled despotically. A Legislative Assembly, bribed by the Sovereign, connived at his despotism. A constituency bribed and intimidated,

returned such a Legislature as the Court desired. The country was devoid of roads ; agriculture was stagnant ; the peasantry decimated by fevers, caused by the want of drainage ; the courts of justice were a perfect mockery ; and the police mere agents of the banditti.* No wonder that there existed an intelligent opinion, even amongst the Greeks, against a union with the Ionian Islands. Mr. Gladstone, before proposing his reform bill to the Legislative Assembly, had proceeded to Athens to judge for himself of the state of opinion there on this matter. "It appeared to me," he writes, "not only that there was no disposition, even in the more sanguine, to trespass upon the rights established by the Treaty of Paris ; but that, viewing the questions simply as one of remote speculation, a divided sentiment might be traced even in the same persons. The union is feared as well as desired ; the differences of law, finance, and social organization are felt to constitute serious obstacles to a junction, even apart from wider

* Finlay, *Greek Revolution*, vol. ii. Lord Carlisle's *Diary in Greek Waters*, 1854. Senior's *Journey through Turkey and Greece*, 1859. General Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine into the Financial Condition of Greece, 1859. *Parl. Papers*, 1860, vol. lxxviii. Report from Sec. of Legation, 1861, *Parl. Papers*, Greece.

and more European considerations. There are misgivings on the questions, how the islands are to be kept in order by a state, limited like Greece, in military, and especially in naval means, and how Ionian might combine with Greek sentiment and practice. These doubts and scruples seem to chequer the natural pleasure with which the first idea of an accession of territory in the neighbourhood, and inhabited by a kindred people, must naturally be regarded; and obviously, while the feelings in favour of union are such as can most safely be indulged at a distance, those adverse to it are of a nature which would operate with greatly increased energy were it possible that at this time the external and more permanent obstacles to the union could be removed, and the matter could be left to the discretion of the parties." *

It may be that Providence does purpose that the Greek race should again form a mighty empire in the Levant. But it is right that this country should clearly understand of what the Greek race of the present day consists. It is idle for us to speak of them as descendants

* Parl. Papers, Ionian Islands, 1861.

from those from whom we derive the arts that civilize nations, and to whom therefore we should owe a special debt of gratitude. When, century after century, hordes of barbarians devastated every province of the Eastern empire, and, at each invasion, left some of their wild warriors, who preferred the sunny climes of the South to their own dark forests, in some cases even settling in such large numbers as to give their name to whole districts; when, in more civilized times, lordly adventurers from France, Italy, and Spain, looking upon Greece as a land which was destined only to be parcelled amongst themselves and their followers, without the trouble of a contest, divided it into numerous petty fiefs, and erected their baronial castles on every inaccessible height; when to these succeeded the remorseless bands of Ottomans, who, with fire and sword, soon spread their dominions from the banks of the Danube to the southernmost point of the Morea, crushing Frank and barbarian under an equal yoke; where are we to look for the descendants of the Greeks of old? Travellers tell us that, as late as the sixteenth century, Athens was but a castle with a small village; and that Sparta, divided by two tribes of the Slavi, the Ezeriti

and the Milingi, had not only lost her ancient name, but it was impossible to recognize the site on which she had stood of old.* As to the Ionian Islands, for hundreds of years they have had no connection with Greece. The Volterra's and Salamos's of Zante ; the Loverdo's, Metaxa's, Tibaldo's, and Vocca's of Cephalonia ; the Zambelli and Valaoriti of Santa Maura ; the Bulgari, Dandolo's, &c., of Corfú, are all of Italian origin. But, like the Anglo-Irish, who became more Irish than the natives, these Ionian Italians are the loudest in calling out for a union with a country with which their forefathers had nothing in common.

The Greek race are but the remnants of those various nations which once constituted the Eastern Empire, and who feel there is a bond of union in their geographical contiguity, in their profession of the tenets of the Eastern Christian Church, and in their hatred of the Turk.

On the 19th of February, 1859, Mr. Gladstone left the Ionian Islands. The Legislative Assembly which, with its utter ignorance of political freedom, had scoffed at the efforts

* Châteaubriand, *Itin. de Paris à Jérusalem*, one of the strongest advocates of the Greek cause at the Congress of Verona.

he had made to secure their independence, in equal ignorance of the usual courtesies of life, abstained in a marked manner from showing him any respect on his departure. The people, however, by the sympathy and good feeling which they expressed towards him, did their best to nullify the discourtesy of their legislators. Unsuccessful as he had been in his endeavours to convince the Ionian Parliament of the duties which were incumbent upon them, towards the people whom they were supposed to represent, his mission proved eminently successful, in finally convincing not only the people of this country but all Europe, that the Ionians alone were to be blamed, for any political disabilities they might be labouring under.

Again has Europe been surprised by an offer to give up the Ionian Islands to Greece. This time it is no unauthorized proposal of a Lord High Commissioner, but the deliberate act of a British Cabinet. Unacquainted with the circumstances under which it has been made, it is impossible to criticize its policy. But its importance cannot be overrated. The union of the Ionian Islands is the first step in annih-

lating Turkish rule. "It is my belief," said Mr. Gladstone on the 7th May, 1861, when speaking for the Cabinet he objected to the production of certain papers relative to the Ionian Islands,* "it is my belief it would be nothing less than a crime against the safety of Europe—I might even say against its immediate tranquillity—as connected with the state and course of the great Eastern question, if England were at this moment to do what the honourable member recommends, that is to say, if they were to apply to the Powers of Europe to be allowed to surrender the Protectorate of the Ionian Islands for the purpose of uniting them to free Greece. Consider, again, the bearing of this union, if it took place, upon the condition of what I may call the Greek provinces of Turkey. What! Are we to say to the people of the Ionian Islands, 'It is so intolerable that you should remain apart from the kingdom which has its capital at Athens, that we will disturb the European arrangements, and remove forthwith the Protectorate of England, in deference to the principle of nationality' ? and could we at the same

* Hansard's Debates, 1861, 7th May.

time say to the people of Candia, of Thessaly, or of Albania, 'you shall remain, not under a Christian Protectorate, but under a Mahomedan sovereignty, and your desire for nationality shall remain ungratified. A Christian Protectorate was too bad for others, a Turkish dominion is good enough for you.'"

Has the time come for Turkey to cease being one of the kingdoms of this world? Is the Greece of 1863 so improved on that of 1858, that we can now trust to her charge a people we could not then? Has the Eastern question so altered in its gravity, that Her Majesty can now ask of the Powers of Europe, that consent to the transfer of the Ionian Islands, which, in 1859, she solemnly assured the Ionians she could not? Was the Crimean War a gross political blunder? and, were the tens of thousands who perished in it, uselessly slaughtered? These are the questions which will arise when we do cede the Ionian Islands to Greece, for it cannot be that this great country, should desire to visit on a happy and industrious population, the punishment due to those few unprincipled demagogues, whose rantings are not heard beyond the small sphere they live in; by ceding them to a country in a state of anarchy.

Neither can it be that we desire to get rid of the responsibilities, which are incumbent on the position which we hold in Europe, to save a few thousands of pounds.

THE END.

